



مَغَازِي سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

THE MAGHĀZĪ OF SAYYIDUNĀ MUḤAMMAD ﷺ

The Earliest Known Biography of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ

Authored by
MŪSĀ IBN 'UQBAH

Foreword by
SHAYKH ABDUL AZIZ SURAQAH

With Notes by
TALUT IBN SULAIMAN DAWOOD



Why is this ebook free?
Where can I get a physical copy of the book?

We have chosen to release this ebook for free due to the profound historical significance of the rediscovery of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's *Maghāzī*, the oldest known biography of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. Given its importance as a primary source in Islamic history and its foundational role in shaping future biographies, we believe that everyone should have access to this essential work, regardless of their circumstances.

That being said, printed editions of this book are also available for those who wish to own a physical copy. By purchasing a printed copy, you are helping to support our mission to spread this monumental work to as many people as possible, ensuring that it reaches far and wide.

Paperback Black & White: www.imamghazali.co/maghazi-pb

Hardback Full Color: www.imamghazali.co/maghazi-hb

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مَغَازِي سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ

THE MAGHĀZĪ OF SAYYIDUNĀ MUḤAMMAD ﷺ



The Maghāzī of Sayyidunā Muḥammad



MŪSĀ IBN ‘UQBAH

**THE MAGHAZI OF
SAYYIDUNA MUHAMMAD**

COPYRIGHT © 2024 BY IMAM GHAZALI PUBLISHING

All rights reserved. Aside from fair use, meaning a few pages or less for non-profit educational purposes, review, or scholarly citation, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Copyright owner. For permission requests, please write to the publisher at the address below.

IMAM GHAZALI PUBLISHING

USA – Malaysia – UK
info@imamghazali.co
WWW.IMAMGHAZALI.CO

BULK ORDERING INFORMATION: Special discounts are available on quantity purchases. For details, please contact the distributors:

SATTAUR PUBLISHING

info@sattaurpublishing.com
WWW.SATTAURPUBLISHING.COM

The views, information, or opinions expressed are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the publisher.

A list of corrigenda can be found on
www.muhammadiyyah.org.

ISBN: 978-1-952306-97-6 (HARDBACK)
ISBN: 978-1-952306-92-1 (LEATHER PU)
ISBN: 978-1-952306-89-1 (PAPERBACK)
ISBN: 978-1-952306-87-7 (EBOOK)
ISBN: 978-1-952306-86-0 (INDIA, MALDIVES, SRI LANKA)

Ebook version 1.1 (September 13, 2024)

Rabi' al-Awwal 1446

September 2024

First Edition

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Author

Musa ibn 'Uqbah (MEDINA)

Translators & Researchers

Wordsmiths Editing Ltd.
www.wordsmiths.org.uk

Editing & Proofreading

Wordsmiths Editing Ltd.
www.wordsmiths.org.uk

Book Design & Typesetting

Muhammad Adnaan Sattaur (MALAYSIA)

Cover Design

Muhammad Adnaan Sattaur (MALAYSIA)

Calligraphy

Adel Mohamady (KUWAIT)

Arabic Review & Editing

Ata Ullah Rafi (PAKISTAN)
Waqar Asim (PAKISTAN)

Project Management

Husna Sattaur (MALAYSIA)
Faris Sattaur (MALAYSIA)



With the support of



TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

ء ¹	ذ dh ⁷	ع ¹²	و w
ا a	ر r	غ gh ¹³	ي y
ب b	ز z	ف f	Vowels & Diphthongs
ت t ²	س s	ق q ¹⁴	
ث th ³	ش sh	ك k	ا ا̇ a ā
ج j	ص ṣ ⁸	ل l	ي ي̇ i ī
ح ḥ ⁴	ض ḍ ⁹	م m	و و̇ u ū
خ kh ⁵	ط ṭ ¹⁰	ن n	ي̇ ay
د d ⁶	ظ ṣ ¹¹	ه h	أ aw

TRANSLITERATION NOTES

¹ A distinctive glottal stop made at the bottom of the throat.

² A soft dental.

³ Close to *th* in *think*.

⁴ A strong aspirate; hard *h* sound made at the Adam's apple, in the middle of the throat.

⁵ A guttural unique to Arabic. Pronounced like the *ch* in Scottish loch.

⁶ A soft dental.

⁷ Pronounced like the *t* in *this*.

⁸ An emphatic *s* pronounced behind the upper front teeth.

⁹ An emphatic *d*-like sound made by pressing

the entire tongue against the upper palate. Unique to Arabic.

¹⁰ A strong palatal; an emphatic *t* pronounced behind the front teeth.

¹¹ A strong palatal; an emphatic *th*, like the *th* in *that*, made behind the front teeth.

¹² A guttural; distinctive Semitic sound made in the middle of the throat, sounding to the western ear more a vowel than a consonant.

¹³ A guttural made at the top of the throat, resembling the untrilled German & French *r*.

¹⁴ A guttural *k* produced at the back of the palate. Pronounced like the *qua* in *quaff*.

PUBLISHER'S TRANSLITERATION NOTE

In general, if an Arabic word has been assimilated into English, then in *most* cases, we have opted to not translate or transliterate it, although there are a few exceptions. Presently, the spelling of these words is largely based on the second edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of English* to decide cases. As this is a dynamic phenomenon, our list and approach to this evolution within language will be revised and studied over time. This means words such as *Islām* and *Ḥādīth* have been written as though they are part of the English language, in this case, Islam and Hadith, and so on. Readers will also notice these words are never italicized in cases where transliterated Arabic words are.

This book was commissioned by Bilal Sheikh in honour of his beloved parents, Sheikh Muhammad Munir and Shameem Ara Bhatti, his grandparents, siblings, spouse, and children. Readers and Beneficiaries of this book are requested to make dua for them all, that they are granted intercession by The Messenger ﷺ on the Day of Judgement, and that they are all with him in Jannah al-Firdaws. We ask Allah to accept this deed from them and to make it a deed that is done solely and purely for His sake. We ask Allah to make it a continuous act of charity and that everyone who reads it will benefit from it.

**“My Lord! Inspire me to ever be thankful for Your favours
which You blessed me and my parents with and to do good
deeds that please You. And instill righteousness in my offspring.
I truly repent to You, and I truly submit to Your Will.”**

AL-AHQAF, 15

* * *

The Publisher requests prayers for the following individuals:

Maulana Muhammad Abdul Aleem Siddiqi
al-Sayyid Sheikh Muhammad ‘Alawi al-Maliki
Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani Siddiqi
Haashim Deen Khawaja
al-Haj Mohammed Ballee
al-Haj Imam Hydarali
al-Haj Abdool Sattaur
Hajjah Bibi Kamroon Sattaur
Ayube Jumai
Aftabudeen Ahmad
Fatima Elizabeth Cates
Sheikh Abdullah Quilliam
Imam Alexander Russell Webb
Sheikh Omar ibn Said al-Maliki
Nasreen Kawthar Chaudhry
Shah Wali Allah
Mohammad Ali Hazratji
Sultan Abdul Hamid II

Contents

FOREWORD.....	XI
PUBLISHER'S MESSAGE	XXI
SAMPLES FROM MANUSCRIPTS.....	XXVII
TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION	XXXI
THE MAGHĀZĪ	1
THE TURNING OF THE QIBLAH TOWARDS THE KA'BAH	2
THE BATTLE OF BADR	3
THE BATTLE OF UḤUD	80
THE BATTLE OF THE TRENCH	103
THE BATTLE OF THE BANŪ QURAYṢAH	112
THE EXPEDITION OF ḤUDAYBIYYAH	119
THE STORY OF ABŪ BAṢĪR IBN USAYD IBN JĀRIYAH AL-THAQAFĪ	129
THE BATTLE OF KHAYBAR	132
THE STORY OF ṢAFIYYAH BINT ḤUYAYY IBN AKHṬAB.....	136
THE 'UMRAH OF THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ	145
THE BATTLE OF MU'TAH	148
THE LIBERATION OF MECCA.....	150
THE BATTLE OF ḤUNAYN.....	165
THE EXPEDITION TO AL-ṬĀ'IF.....	169
THE 'UMRAH FROM AL-JI'RĀNAH	172
THE HAJJ THAT ABŪ BAKR ﷺ LED THE PEOPLE IN WHEN THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ SENT HIM	173
THE EXPEDITION OF TABŪK.....	179
THE FAREWELL HAJJ	188

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ كَثِيرٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ

كان إذا وصف النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لم يكن
 بالطويل المعط ولا بالقصير المتردد وكان بقعة من القوم
 بعيدا بين المنكبين ولم يكن بالابيض اللامع ولا بالادوم
 كان زهر اللون حسن الجسم ولم يكن بالجعد القطط ولا بالسبط
 كان جدار حسنا ولم يكن بالمطهر ولا بالمكلم
 وكان في وجهه تدبر ابيض مشربا ادعج العينين اهدب الاشعار
 جليل المشعر الكند اجرد ذو منسبة شش الكهين والقدسين
 اذا مشى تفلح كأنما يمشي في صلب واذا التفت التفت معا بين كفيه
 خاتم النبوة اجود الناس صدرا واصدقهم طمحة واليهم عريكة واكرمهم
 عشرة من آه بيته مائة ومن خالطه معروفا اجرة
 نفيلا ناعمة لم ارقبه ولا بعدة مثله



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وَمَا اسْأَلُنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

Foreword

All praise is due to Allah ﷻ, Who has blessed us with the privilege of being from the community of the Prophet Muḥammad, son of ‘Abdullāh ﷻ, the Praised One, the grandest of those who praise Allah, and the abundantly praised in the Heavens and the Earth – our leader, master, exemplar, and guide.

The *sīrah*, or sacred biography, of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ is one of the eminent sciences of Islam. The Arabic word *sīrah*, which literally means way, state, a treaded-path, or norm, refers to a person’s journey throughout life or his or her life account, encompassing their birth, life events, characteristics, and passing.

The noun *sīrah* occurs only once in the Holy Qur’an, where Allah ﷻ relates to us the story of Prophet Mūsā ﷺ and his preparation to confront the tyrant Pharaoh:

“Mūsā, what is that in your right hand?’ ‘It is my staff’, he said, ‘I lean on it, beat down [branches and leaves] for my sheep, and I have other uses for it.’ Allah said, ‘Throw it down, Mūsā!’ He threw it down and – lo and behold – it became a fast-moving snake. He said, ‘Pick it up without fear; We shall turn it back to its former state (sīrah).” (Tā hā, 17-21)

The *sīrah* of Mūsā’s staff was its norm. The *sīrah* of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ is the preservation of his story and his norm, which surpasses the standards of all other humans, for he ﷺ is the embodiment of Islam in all its facets. Our core theology (‘*aqīdah*’) essentially consists of the tenets of faith as received through him ﷺ; our jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is fundamentally his way of outward ritual worship and transactions, whether in explicit or implicit terms; and our spirituality (*sulūk*, *iḥsān*, and *taṣawwuf*) is essentially the path of purification and sanctification through adherence to his example, whether inwardly and outwardly.

The *sīrah*, or sacred biography of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ, is one of the four genres of study included in what is collectively called *al-‘Ulūm al-Muḥammadiyyah*, or “The Muhammadan Sciences.”

They are:

1. The *sīrah* (his biography);
2. The *shamā’il* (his physical and moral qualities);

3. The *khaṣā'is* (his unique qualities and bestowals that are provided exclusively to him or his nation);
4. And the *dalā'il al-nubuwwah* (the proofs of his Prophethood).

What these genres all have in common is that they pertain to the blessed personality and being of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ. Learning about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ and his physical and moral qualities is a religious necessity because, after all, *the medium is the message*. The medium of the message of Islam is embodied by the one who communicated Islam's contents to us while perfectly reflecting them in his own being. Understanding the *sīrah* is, therefore, critical to having a proper understanding of Islam, for it vividly calls us to experience, through the prism of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ, how Islam is lived, taking the religion beyond the conceptual level to the concrete realm of actual embodiment.

The vast corpus of knowledge in Islam that underwent collation and codification required systematic organization to enable seekers of knowledge to prioritize the essential topics from the non-essential ones, especially in an academic context. There was also a need to demonstrate the link between each of the sciences. This gave rise to the popular formulation of what came to be known as "The Ten Fundamentals" (*al-mabādi' al-'asharah*), which outlined the definition, subject, fruit, relation, virtue, founder(s), name(s), sources, ruling, and issues in a given science or subject matter. The most famous expression of these ten fundamentals is found in the poem composed by the logician and grammarian Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ṣabbān (d. 1206 ah/1792 ce), which consists of the following lines:

الْحَدُّ وَالْمَوْضُوعُ ثُمَّ الثَّمَرَةُ	إِنَّ مَبَادِيَّ كُلِّ فَنٍ عَشْرَةٌ
وَالِاسْمُ وَاسْتِمْدَادُ حُكْمِ الشَّارِعِ	وَنِسْبَةٌ وَفَضْلُهُ وَالْوَاضِعُ
وَمَنْ دَرَى الْجَمِيعَ حَازَ الشَّرْفَ	مَسَائِلُ وَالْبَعْضُ بِالْبَعْضِ اكْتَفَى

Verily the fundamentals of every discipline are ten:
The definition, the subject, then its fruit;
Its relation, its virtue, and the founder;

*The name, the sources, and the judgment of the Lawgiver;
And issues; some suffice with part [of these];
And the one who knows them all acquires honour*

Let us now examine the science of the *sīrah* in light of these ten fundamentals.

Definition

The *sīrah* is generally defined as the science through which the conditions and circumstances of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ are known in detail, from his blessed birth, his upbringing and development, up to his transition to the Next World.

The *sīrah* also presents accounts of the Arab peoples prior to Islam, their social and religious conditions, as well as the signs that appeared heralding the blessed birth of the Prophet ﷺ. It describes his pure way and life philosophy, namely how he was with his household and family, how he steered and guided society, as well as his invitation to Allah's message and final religion, sacrifices, and battles. It presents us examples of how the Prophet ﷺ dealt with friend and foe, and provides written records such as political treaties, military enlistments, assignments of officials, letters to foreign rulers, speeches and sermons, and even poetry commemorating certain events.

Subject

The subject of the *sīrah* is the personality of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ with respect to his days, the events and incidents of his life, as well as his circumstances, conditions, and character.

Fruit

In technical terms, the fruit of a subject is defined as “the benefits sought from a particular science”. There are far too many fruits encompassed in the field of *sīrah* to mention here, but among them we will reference six.

First and foremost, the *sīrah* helps strengthen one's certainty in the second part of the testimony of faith (*shahādah*) – *Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah*.

A deep study of the noble life of the Prophet ﷺ yields an increase in certainty and love. Secondly, the *sīrah* guides us to the path of Prophetic character and shows us how the Messenger of Allah ﷺ responded to pri-

vation and expansion by providing concrete examples of how he handled periods of difficulty and ease.

A third benefit is that the *sīrah* fills one's heart with awe and reverence for the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. When one realizes his struggles and responses to persecution as well as his deep care for his nation – both in the nation of invitation and the nation of acceptance¹ – their heart will be deeply moved and filled with awe for the tremendous sacrifices he made throughout his life so the message of Divine Unity could reach humankind as a whole.

A fourth point of benefit is that the *sīrah* is akin to a blueprint for the prophetic nation. This means that regardless of the situation we face in life or around us, there is something in the *sīrah* pointing to the appropriate response.

Fifthly, the *sīrah* provides us insightful lessons on how we should invite others to Allah (*da'wah*), which is a divine mandate. After spending more than thirty years in the “Islamic scene” within the West, it is my contention that our general lack of progress in inviting people to Islam and our lacklustre results in community-building stem from our disconnection from the pristine example found in the Prophetic *sīrah* and our failure to be fundamentally changed by it. Why are our communities so disconnected and lack any meaningful sense of direction? What are our priorities here in the West, and are they truly aligned with the priorities that the Prophet ﷺ espoused in Mecca and then Medina? How should our community centers and mosques be designed and operated if the principle of inviting to Allah lies at the forefront of their concerns? How do we even invite people to Allah? What is the difference between an academic discourse on Islam and religiously inviting to Allah, and how does the *sīrah* demonstrate the distinction between the two? How did the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ address the concerns of converts (as almost all the Companions ﷺ were converts)? Some subsidiary questions that stem from the latter query include the following: is there such a thing as “Islamic clothes”? Must all converts change their names upon embracing the true

1 The “nation of invitation” (*ummah al-da'wah*) refers to those who have received the invitation of the Prophet ﷺ to Allah's message but have not yet accepted it, whereas the “nation of acceptance” (*ummah al-ijābah*) refers to those who have received the invitation of the Prophet ﷺ to the true religion and accepted it. The former refers to all non-Muslims and the latter refers to Muslims.

faith? How much of one's culture should be maintained or discarded once they embrace Islam? Is what is materially and socially good for Muslims necessarily good for Islam to grow in these lands? These and many other questions are answered in the *sīrah*, but only if one pays close attention to the patterns and principles that can be derived from it.

The sixth point of benefit is that the *sīrah* provides us valuable insights in the spheres of social life, politics, and conflict, and most critically it increases our love for the noble Companions and blessed Household ﷺ of the Prophet ﷺ.²

Relation

What is meant by relation here is its connection to other sciences. The *sīrah* is one of the sciences of Islam.

Virtue

The virtue of the science of *sīrah* is intricately connected to its fruit. Simply put, the merit of a science is predicated on the merit of its subject matter. Since the subject matter of the *sīrah* is the best of creation, namely the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ, it is naturally deemed one of the most virtuous Islamic sciences.

The Companion Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ ﷺ used to teach his children the biography, battles, and expeditions of the Prophet ﷺ, and would say, "Dear children, this is the honour of your forefathers, so do not neglect to remember it!"

Imam al-Zuhri رحمه الله, one of the first authorities to write on the *sīrah*, famously said, "The *sīrah* contains the very best of this life and the Next."

Founder

The founder of a science refers to its pioneer, that is, the one who first established it as a distinct discipline. In a rather broad sense, we can say that the founders of the science of *sīrah* are the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ, as well as the second and third generation of believers. This is because from early on they recognized the importance of the life of the

2 Other fruits include: strengthening one's resolve in the face of threats and challenges, learning the causes of victory and defeat, and witnessing glittering examples of deeply transformed individuals implementing the timeless guidance of the Qur'an.

Prophet ﷺ and the necessity of transmitting its details for the future generations of Muslims. More formally, the first scholar who is known to have concerned himself with the Prophetic biography genre was Abān ibn ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (born 15-20 ah). He served as the governor of Medina during the rule of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān from 75-83 ah. However, only a few reports from him have been preserved. Other early and prominent organizers of *sīrah* material include the following figures:

1. ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, who is celebrated as one of the seven renowned jurists of Medina. His reports are quoted in the later *sīrah* works.
2. Wahb ibn Munabbih. His reports are also contained in later works.
3. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri.
4. **Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, a student of Imam al-Zuhri, whose work is presented in this volume.**
5. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, who was also a student of Imam al-Zuhri. He is credited as being the first person to formally write about the *sīrah* in his work *Sīrah Rasūl Allāh* ﷺ. He penned this work in 151 ah, and its narrations have survived thanks to the works of Ibn Hishām and Imam al-Ṭabari ﷺ.
6. Al-Wāqidi.
7. Ibn Sa‘d.

Name(s)

The earliest designation given to the science of the Prophetic biography was the covering label of *maghāzī* (battles), which was used loosely to denote the details of the life of the Prophet ﷺ and his military campaigns. The distinction between *maghāzī* and *sīrah* would only be a later development, as the progression of the field called for a degree of differentiation.

Another name assigned to the field of Prophetic biography was *ayyām al-nabī*, which literally translates to “the days of the Prophet” ﷺ.³

3 *Siyar*, the plural of *sīrah*, has also been used.

Sources

There are three main sources from which we draw knowledge of the life of the Prophet ﷺ: 1) the Qur'an, 2) the Hadith traditions, and 3) early *sīrah/maghāzī* reports.

The greatest source of knowledge about the life of the Prophet ﷺ is the Qur'an. It is a book of *sīrah* insofar as it explains many events that occurred during the mission of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. That said, it is neither a book of history nor is it chronological. Instead, it presents the teachings of the Prophet ﷺ and has clear references to events in his life, whether in the public or private realms. It even has allusions to his life before he was tasked with disseminating the Divine message.

The Hadith traditions are the second source of knowledge about the life of the Prophet ﷺ.

The third source of information about his life is the early *sīrah/maghāzī* literature. The Hadith corpus and *sīrah* literature are similar, which is why some scholars grouped them together as a single source. However, there are two important distinctions to keep in mind. Firstly, the Hadith traditions have been organized according to doctrinal, ethical, and legal topics in a number of compilations, or according to the original transmitters of the traditions (*masānīd*). *Sīrah* works, on the other hand, are presented in a chronological fashion. Secondly, in the Hadith collections, greater attention is paid to the chains of transmission, which naturally have a bearing on the authenticity or weakness of the reports in question. But in the *sīrah* literature, the same strict rules regarding the quality of the chains of transmission have not always been observed (even though in many cases the same scholar is involved in both types of work).

Accordingly, the *sīrah* literature is a separate genre altogether from the Hadith genre. Hadith proof-texts detail prophetic statements, actions, and tacit approvals, while *sīrah* works are generally more relaxed regarding the strength of the Hadith narrations cited within them. This is an important point to remember, since it entails that the *sīrah* literature is not a source of legislation independent of jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

The Judgement of the Lawgiver

It is individually obligatory upon every person to know the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. But what about knowing the accounts and narrations cited in the *sīrah*? Most scholars have said that it is recommended only (*mustaḥabb*) to study the *sīrah*. Others have said that it is a communal

obligation to know the particulars found and mentioned in the *sīrah* texts.

Issues

Issues relate to the subjects discussed in the science in question. The issues encompassed in the *sīrah* include pre-Islamic Arabia, pre-birth portents, the noble lineage of the Prophet ﷺ, his birth, infancy, youth, adulthood, marriage, the beginning of revelation, the Meccan period, the famous migration to Medina, battles and military expeditions, the Conquest of Mecca, the final days of the Prophet ﷺ, and his passing.

Supreme Abundance

The sacred biography of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ is a Kawthar – which refers to a source of supreme abundance. Allah says, “*Indeed We have granted you Kawthar.*” (*Kawthar*, 1) A survey of the rich exegetical literature reveals that there are twenty-six views about the meaning of Kawthar. In a notable Hadith tradition related on the topic, Anas ibn Malik ؓ related, “The Prophet ﷺ asked, ‘Do you know what the Kawthar is?’ We responded, ‘Allah and His Messenger know best.’ He responded, ‘It is a river that Allah, the Mighty and Exalted, promised me. There is an abundance of good in it. It is a fount that my community will gather around on the Day of Standing.’” (Abū Dāwūd)

However, Kawthar is not only this river that the Ummah will drink from in the Hereafter. Imam al-Bukhārī ؓ records, “Ibn Jubayr was told that people were saying that Kawthar is [just] a river in Paradise. Ibn al-Jubayr quoted Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘It [the Kawthar] is from the abundant goodness.’”

Imam Ja‘far al-Šādiq ؓ said, “The Kawthar is the Prophet’s intercession.”

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī ؓ said, “The Kawthar is the Qur’an.”

‘Ikrimah ؓ said, “The Kawthar is Prophethood.”

Others have said that Kawthar refers to the testimony of faith (*shahādah*), a large nation, the blessed Household of the Prophet ﷺ, and his noble character.

These different exegetical views about the meaning of Kawthar are perspectival and not oppositional. In other words, they are all true from different vantage points. The primary purpose behind the revelation of Sūrah al-Kawthar was to strengthen the resolve of the Prophet ﷺ and

boost his community by reminding them that he is without any doubt the recipient of supreme abundance. The word Kawthar is derived from the root word *kathrah*, which signifies abundance or a multitude. The Kawthar, as such, is unrestricted and unlimited in its goodness and bounties. Put in another way, Allah is informing His beloved Prophet ﷺ that He has given him that which is plentiful and overflowing.

One simply needs to read the Qur'an to see that every verse and chapter is a fountain of goodness. In a parallel fashion, one need only study the *sīrah* to see this supreme abundance given to the Prophet ﷺ.

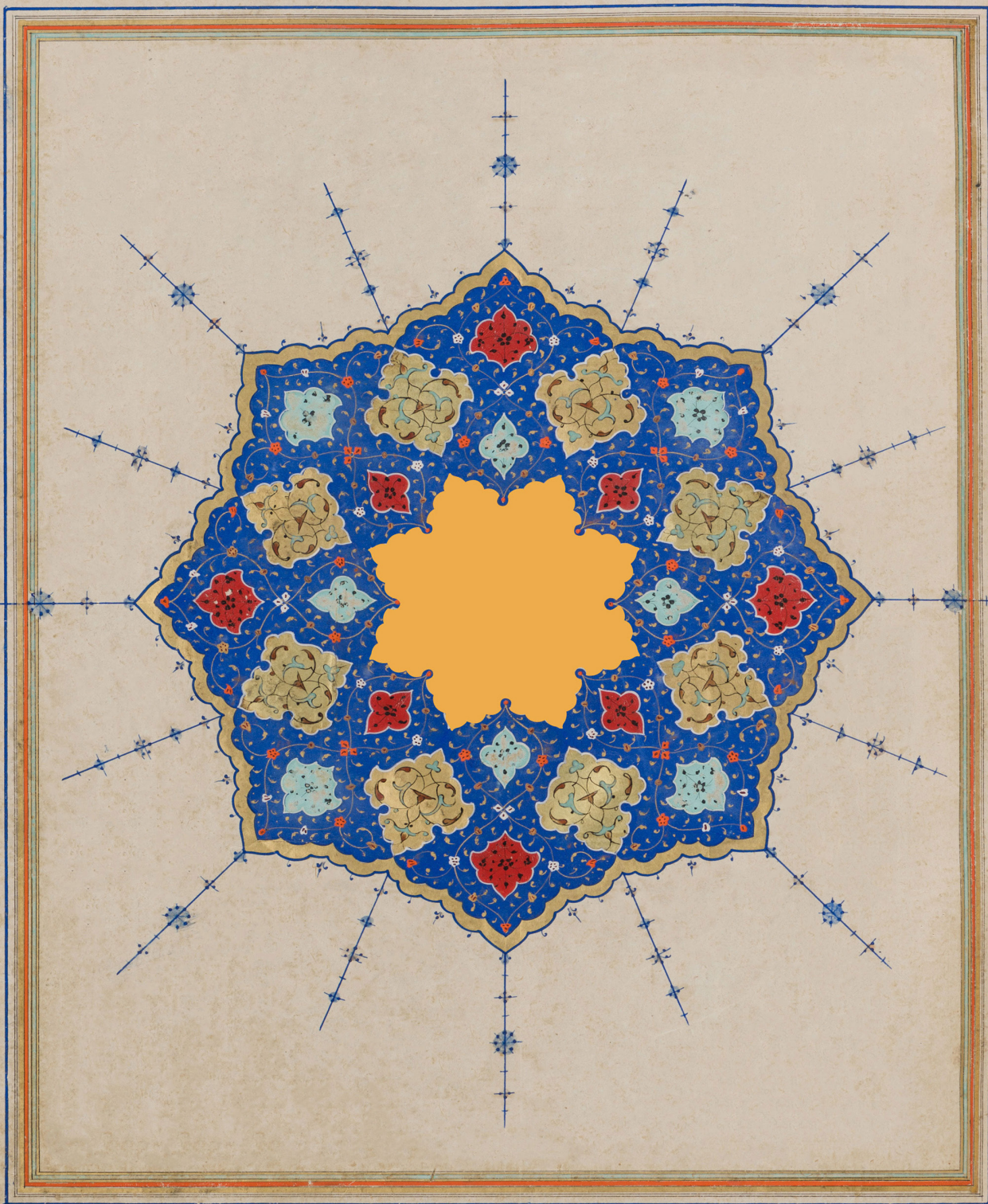
The sublime way (Sunnah) of the Prophet ﷺ is Kawthar. We find the goodness of this Kawthar spread among the billions of believers across history who have clung to his way in the far-flung corners of the Earth.

There is Kawthar, supreme abundance, manifest in the goodness that humanity gained from his divine message, which not only reaches those who believe in him, but also those who do not.

Presented before you, dear reader, is the *Maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, one of the earliest sources describing this prophetic *Kawthar*, which is brimming with goodness. In modern Arabic, the word *sīrah* is used to refer to a person's resume. Drawing from that linguistic point, we can say that the sacred biography of the Prophet ﷺ is the greatest resume of the greatest person to step on this Earth, while the Qur'an is the greatest character reference attesting to his nobility and excellence in all domains and realms.

In closing, may Allah send endless prayers, bountiful blessings, and infinite salutations upon the one whose awe-inspiring beauty unlocks hearts, whose superlative countenance removes veils of heedlessness, and whose every statement and action, movement and stillness, gaze and glance, smile and touch bring the hearts into motion and transform souls. May never-ending prayers and sweet salutations be upon the one whom Allah made His most exquisite creation, the crown jewel of His kingdom and His supreme grace: our master, our beloved, our glittering light, our source of goodness and serenity, and our salvation, Sayyidunā Muḥammad, son of 'Abdullāh ﷺ.

– Abdul Aziz Suraqah
Ramadan 13, 1445



Publisher's Message

In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful and the Compassionate.

All praise and gratitude is due to Allah, our Most Generous and Merciful Benefactor. He infinitely bestows His divine grace upon us and has distinguished us all by making us members of the esteemed Ummah of our master Muḥammad ﷺ.

I bear witness that there is no being or deity worthy of worship except Allah, and that our master Muḥammad ﷺ is His last and final Messenger.

O Allah, send blessings and bounties upon our master Muḥammad, the opener of what was once deemed inaccessible, the seal of what had preceded, the helper of the truth by the Truth, and the guide to Your straight path. May He send prayers upon his pure and noble family commensurate to his greatness and magnificent rank.

Our master Muḥammad ﷺ is the blessed figure who was chosen to be the Seal of the Prophets ﷺ. He is the greatest of those who came and were sent before him, and the best of all those who shall come until the Day of Judgement. He was the first in creation but the last to be sent to humanity. It is through him that mankind was honoured with guidance, and it is thanks to his teachings that the inhabitants of the Earth can recognize their Lord and bond with Him. He is the irrefutable evidence against every falsehood, and he is the proof of the Supreme Reality. He is the leader of the nations and peoples, the ruler of the hearts, the rectifier of states, the raiser of ranks, and the beloved of every heart. It is he whose sublime character was praised, whose Prophethood was explicitly affirmed, whose leadership was established, and whose magnificence was attested to in countless verses of the Qur'an. He is the most majestic of all the Emissaries that were sent, and he is the most brilliant of the Apostles. He is the grand figure who was awaited by those who preceded him, and he is the one regarding whom our master 'Īsā ﷺ gave glad tidings to his own people. He is the radiance of lives, the finality of those who were commissioned by Allah, and the quintessence of splendour.

The preservation of the life and teachings of the Prophet ﷺ has been a crucial venture for Muslim scholars, authors, and researchers throughout

Islamic history. Among the early generation of scholars, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah is most distinguished for his meticulous documentation of the expeditions of the Prophet ﷺ in his work *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. In historical terms, this work is one of the earliest and most authentic biographies of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, providing a detailed account of his military campaigns and the significant events that shaped the early Muslim community from a nascent nation to a towering force that spread its message throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah ؓ was a distinguished scholar from the city of Medina. His proximity to the family of Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām ؓ, a prominent Companion of the Prophet ﷺ, provided him with unique access to firsthand accounts and reliable sources regarding the events of the first generation of Islam. His rigorous approach to compiling and verifying reports set a high standard for historical accuracy and scholarly integrity.

The significance of *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* lies not only in its rich historical data but also in its myriad of spiritual and moral insights. It offers readers a profound connection to the life and times of the Prophet ﷺ, ultimately highlighting his exemplary character, strategic acumen, and unwavering commitment to the message of Islam. Without the shadow of a doubt, the book serves as a vital resource for understanding the early struggles and triumphs of the Muslim community and the principles that guided their actions.

Imam Ghazali Publishing is privileged to present this monumental work of translation to a contemporary audience living in the 21st century. Our mission is to ensure that the rich legacy of Islamic scholarship continues to inspire and guide the future generations to come. We are committed to making classical texts accessible to readers across the globe, thereby fostering a deeper appreciation of the profound wisdom and timeless teachings contained within these priceless works.

The journey of bringing *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* to publication has been one of deep commitment, teamwork, and a deep sense of responsibility. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to every individual who has given their time and effort to this project. Our translators, editors, and proofreaders have worked tirelessly to ensure that the text is presented with clarity and accuracy. Their commitment to excellence has been instrumental in making this publication a reality. When announcements of the discovery of this work began circulating online and subsequent updates from Professor Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī – the lead editor of the edited Arabic

edition – became routine, it was my firm hope and *niyyah* (intention) that Imam Ghazali Publishing would be able to work on the much needed English translation of this blessed work. In an almost miraculous manner, the translation work began on this project and it was completed with relative means. May Allah bless, amplify, and reward every individual who understood the reality and magnificence of this opportunity and moment. Indeed, how fortunate are we to live in a time where this magnificent work has been found and made public once more?

We are also deeply grateful to our readers for their continued support and backing. Your regular engagement with our publications is a testament to the enduring relevance and appeal of Islamic scholarship. It is our faith that *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* will serve as a source of inspiration and guidance for all who read it, enriching their understanding of the life of the Prophet ﷺ and strengthening their connection to his noble and shining example.

When reflecting on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ, we are reminded of the immense sacrifices he made for his nation and the challenges he faced in conveying the message of Islam. Every moment of his life was a testament to his resilience, compassion, and unwavering faith. Through these sacrifices, he demonstrated remarkable leadership, strategic brilliance, and a profound commitment to the Ummah. Towards this end, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* provides a detailed account of the expeditions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, thereby offering valuable lessons for contemporary readers.

The historical context of the expeditions of the Prophet ﷺ is essential for understanding the broader narrative of his personal life and moral mission. These campaigns were not merely military endeavours; rather, they were integral to the establishment and preservation of the Muslim community as a whole. They illustrate the practical application of Islamic principles in times of conflict and the importance of strategic thinking, unity, and perseverance.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable aspects of *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is its emphasis on the human dimension of these events. Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah رضى الله عنه meticulously recorded the names of the contestants, their roles, and the outcomes of the respective battles. This attention to detail provides a vivid and relatable account of the sacrifices and contributions of the early Muslims. To read each of these names and connect with them is nothing short of a mercy and blessing for a Muslim. It also highlights the importance of fusing individual and collective efforts when pursuing a noble cause.

By studying *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, readers will gain insights into the strategic decisions made by the Prophet ﷺ, the ethical considerations that guided his actions, and the profound impact of his moral and political leadership on the early Muslim community. These teachings are not only relevant for historians and scholars but also for any leader seeking to understand the principles of effective leadership, conflict resolution, and community building.

In more than one way, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is a companion volume to the *shamā'il* and *khaṣā'iṣ* genres. Although each work focuses on different sciences from *al-'ulūm al-Muḥammadiyyah*, attentive readers will find many connections between these three works – from broad thematic elements all the way to the finest details. Overall, we pray that *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* will be a means to reintroduce our community to the genre of *maghāzī* literature, and that this book becomes a key component of the reader's own never-ending journey of discovering the endless beauty and excellence of the Messenger ﷺ.



The publication of *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is part of a much broader effort by Imam Ghazali Publishing to revive and distribute classical Islamic texts. We believe that these works hold immense value for contemporary readers, offering timeless wisdom and practical guidance for countless years to come. By making these texts accessible, we aim to foster a deeper connection to the rich heritage of Islamic scholarship, and stimulate a renewed commitment to the principles of faith and justice.

In addition to its historical and spiritual significance, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* serves as a testament to the enduring significance of the life and teachings of the Prophet ﷺ. His shining example continues to inspire and guide Muslims around the world, providing a beacon of hope, a wellspring of love and positivity, and a model of excellence. By studying his expeditions, we are reminded of the importance of resilience, compassion, and unwavering faith in the face of any internal or external challenges. As we present this work to our readers, we pray that it serves as a means of deepening your understanding of the life of the Prophet ﷺ and allows you to strengthen your connection to his noble example. May it inspire you to embody the principles of justice, mercy, and compassion in your own lives, and to strive for excellence in every action and deed that you undertake.



Allah Almighty and Wise says in His glorious Book, “If you are grateful then I shall surely increase you.”¹ As such, we praise Allah Who enables us to perform all good acts, and unwaveringly display our gratitude to His beloved Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ for delivering the sacred message, fulfilling the heavy trust, advising the Ummah, and striving tirelessly in the way of Allah.

We also express thankfulness to Allah for continuing to bestow His immense blessings upon us; this facilitating grace has allowed us the opportunity time after time to produce wonderful and life-changing works for the Muslim nation.

On behalf of the entire publishing team, I publicly thank every member of Imam Ghazali Publishing’s reading community who altruistically stepped forward to make this project a reality. We remain indebted to you and pray that we have fulfilled the sacred trust assigned to us.

We extend our sincere gratitude to all members who have supported this project, including our translators, editors, proofreaders, and the entire team at Imam Ghazali Publishing. Your dedication and hard exertion have made this publication a fruitful reality, and we are deeply grateful for your contributions.

We also extend our deepest thanks to the team at Wordsmiths and the thoughtful leadership of Dr. Salah Sharief – who has supported us in our publishing journey from the earliest stage. His insight, friendship and lending hand has facilitated much of the works published under Imam Ghazali Publishing. May Allah bless him and his family with unlimited happiness and success.

It is our hope that *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* will serve as a source of inspiration and guidance for all who read it, enriching their understanding of the life of the Prophet ﷺ and strengthening their link to his noble example.

In closing, we pray that Allah bestows us the strength and wisdom to continue our efforts in preserving and disseminating the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ. May He bless this work and render it a means of divine guidance and inspiration for countless generations to come.

Anything undignified in this rendering is from our own souls and ignorance, and anything herein which is of benefit is solely from Allah, the

1 Ibrāhīm, 7.

blessings of the author, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah , and the scholars who worked hard to preserve, transmit, and save these blessed and noble works. May Allah forgive us for our inadequacies, and may He bless all those who teach, read, and study the entirety or portion of this work until the Day of Judgement. I end by asking that should you, that is, the reader, benefit from this text, then kindly remember this poor and needy servant and his family in your supplications.

Āmīn. And all praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds.

– Muhammad Adnaan Sattaur (ABU FARIS)

On behalf of Imam Ghazali Publishing

Penned during the Hajj of 1445 (2024)

[illegible][illegible]

بالفعل أو وإنزال الله إذ يعسكس العناس أمثمنه وينزل عليه كرم -
 السما بالبطوق كرمه وبه كرمه كرم زجر الشيطان ولينطلي
 قلوبكم وبنت به الاقدام ويقال كان مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 فوسن على الجاهلها مصعب بن عمير وعلى الآخر سعد بن حشمة وشرق
 الربيز بن العوام ومرة المقادير لاسود ثم صف رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم على الحياض فلما طلع المشركون قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 زعموا اللهوه هاهنا فربش حانت فخرها وخيلها حاجات فخال ولارب
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الههراية أنسا ما وعدني ورسل الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم من بعض اليه بكير يقول الههراية أنسا ما وعدني وقال
 ابو بكر البشير يابني الله فوالذي نفسي بيده ليخبر الله لك ما وعدك
 فاستنصر المشركون الله واستعانوه فاستجاب الله لنبيه صلى الله عليه
 وسلم والمسلمين وأقل المشركون ومعهم المشرك في صورة رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم فخرجوا من مكة فأتوا المدينة فأتوا المدينة فأتوا المدينة
 من الناس وأبى جازا كرم لما أخبرهم من سيدهم كرمه قال وإنزال الله
 ولا تكونوا كالأذن جرحوا من جازا كرم لما أخبرهم من سيدهم كرمه
 وأبى جازا كرم لما أخبرهم من سيدهم كرمه قال وإنزال الله
 بهر المشركون كرمه لما أخبرهم من سيدهم كرمه قال وإنزال الله
 هاهنا ديبهم قال الله ومن يتوكل على الله فإن الله عز وجل حكيم
 وأقبل المشركون حتى نزلوا لم يعصوا للقتال والشيطان معهم فكانهم

فسماحكم من جزام العنسة بن ربيعة ففأهل الأمان تكون سيد
 فربش ما عشت قال عتبة فأفعل ما إذا قال خير بن النابلس وكجمل
 بادية بن الجصري وما أصاب من عمل من تلك العنزة ودم هذا الرجل
 قال عتبة نعم فدفعته ونعم ما قلت ونعم ما دعوت اليه فاسع في عشرين
 قالنا التهم لها فستجيبكم في استراف فربش يراك يدعوهم اليه ورأيت
 عتبة بن ربيعة جهملا له فساد عليه في فحوف المشركين من
 فقال يا قوم اطمعوني فأنكر لا تظلمون عند من هم من ابن الجصري
 وما أصاب من عيونكم تلك قالنا التهم بوقادك ودعوا هذا الرجل
 قال كان كادنا ولي قلله غيركم من العرب فاق فيهم زحالا لكم
 فذهب فزارة فزارة وأكرم ان ففانهم لا يزال الدخول منكم يظن الي
 قالنا له أو لجهاد أو لجهاد أو لجهاد أو لجهاد أو لجهاد أو لجهاد
 وضعنا من دان كان هذا الرجل ملكا كنتم في ملككم وان كان
 نبيا لم يقبلوا النبي ففستوباه ولن تخلصوا الحسب اليهم حتى يصيبوا
 اعداءهم ولا امن ان لم الكرامة عليكم ففجاءه ابو جهل على قتاله وأبا
 الله إلا أن تشد أمتي وخشية ابن ربيعة يومئذ يئس المشركين مع رابو
 جهل إلى ابن الجصري وهو لحد المقبول فقال له عتبة ففخزل بين الناس
 وفلجمل إلى الجصري برغم الك قالها فلا تستجيبون من ذلك ان قبلوا
 البرية قال ابو جهل فربش ان عتبة ما علم انكم ظاهرون على هذا الرجل
 ومن عنة وفهم ابنه وبسوا عتبة وهو يكلم صلاحكم وقال ابو جهل عتبة

قُلْ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ قَبْلُ الْعَهْدِ وَالْأَوَّلُ لِلْأَوَّلِ وَالْأَوَّلُ لِلْأَوَّلِ

ابن الجارث ولا ابا الحسن في رجال فاسرها ولا الميراث في رجال

من اوصا بحر سوسه الله غير رسم وبعدهم لا بال الحنري والفرمان

سُبْحَانَكَ يَا رَحْمَنُ السَّمِيعُ الْغَنِيُّ

الْمَدْرَافَ وَمِنْ عَمَّا سَرَاتِ الْأَكْبَادِ وَأَنَا لَكَ بِمَنْ عَنِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ

الْبَجَارَةُ الَّذِي قَتَلَهُ بِقَتْلِهِ عَيْرَ شَيْبَةَ ابْنِ أَبِي ذَرٍّ وَسَلَّمَهُ سَعْدَةَ

فَكَانَ عَمَلُهُ بِذِهِ حَتَّى بَاعَهُ بِعَصَمِهِمْ مِنْ بَعْضِ بَنِي لُحَايَ الْخَثَرِيِّ وَابْنِ الْجُدَرِيِّ

وَلَسْتُ بِمُتْلَاهَا مِنْكُمْ
فَقَسَدْتُمْ لَهَا الْعِزَّانِي

انا لله الذي اعلم صلي من سلك
 اعلم الخير به حتى يدرك

وَدَّيْرِي جَبَّارِ بِيْرِي تَرِي هَمُو عَمُو اَنَّهُ نَاسْتَهْ لَا اسْتَا سَرُو فَا ابُو كَحُو

وَأَقْرَبُ لِلَّهِ صُلَاً. وَسَاحَةً وَمِفْخَرًا. عَلَى النَّسَاءِ فَإِنَّهُ إِذَا جَاءَهَا فَلَمْ يَلْحَقْ بِهَا

عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْعَدَسِ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ حَقٌّ عَلَى النَّاسِ مِنْ مَالٍ أَوْ نَسَبٍ أَوْ دَمٍ فَلَمْ يَجِدْ لَهُمْ حَقَّهُمْ فَلْيَسِّرْ لَهُمْ حَقَّهُمْ»

هَكَذَا اللَّهُمَّ فَسَّعِ الْمَرْجَا حَتَّى وَجَّهَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ تَرْسُفَهُ مَصْرًا وَبَابَهُ زَيْتٌ

محرلة عند كسر مفتح في الجدار و واضع سنبه على خزان ليس به حرج

الاستفيع الخمر من عصوا وقومك ينظر الى الارض فلما راه عبد

لهم بر مسعود طاف حول البعده وهو ضائع ان سوا الله وابوجه طاف في

...مدا دمه و اوصه لا بحر طر عبد الله ان با جهل منه جرح

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1001-1005.

Downloaded from <http://ajphaphysocpharm.sagepub.com/> at 11:01 11 November 2014

SAMPLES FROM

من خروجی بل مع سرب علی خیر خزانہ بقدر

الْعَالَمِ رَحْمَةً عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْهُمْ هَاسِتُمْ وَمِنْهُمْ الْمُطْلَبُ

وَيَرْجُوهُ جُلُوسِيْنًا يَتَخَفُونَ بِإِجْرَامِهِمَا فَلَا حَصْرَ لَهُمَا فِيهِمَا لِيَأْخُذَهُمَا فِي يَوْمٍ لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمَا وَكُلُّ

المؤمنين هو لا، المقرب قبل انقضاء الجمكان، وفي المسئلة؛ في الله مسئلة في المصالحه، واوا

الْفَأَلُ قَارِئُ شَيْءٍ وَرَفَعَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَدَيْهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ بِسْمَلَهُ مَا وَصَّاهُ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ يَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَزْظَهَرَ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْأَعْصَابِ ظَهْرَ اسْتِرْكَاءٍ وَلَمْ يَمِ الْكَافِرِينَ

يُؤْتِيهِم مَّا يَشَاءُونَ وَيَهْدِيهِم لِمَا يَشَاءُونَ إِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ خُصْوَاتُهَا إِنَّهُ يَهْدِي لِمَا يَشَاءُونَ

من الملائكة محمد بن إسماعيل كافي العدل وفات رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم والبركات

مَدَامُ هِيَ وَتَرْتَمِدُ يَدَايَا فَرْقَانِ وَتَحْتَجِبُونَ حَسْرَةً

وَرَحْمَتِي لَكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ

بِشَا الْفَدِيمِ وَدِينِ مُحَمَّدٍ الْخَلِيفَةِ وَكَهْرِ السُّلْطَانِ عَلَى عَقْبِهِ حَمْدُ هَٰذَا الْمَلِكِ

بئرا من نصير! اصابه فاحي الله الي الملايكه وامرهم باسمه وحل فيهم له مدبر وامير

صِرْ سِرًّا إِلَى اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَاحْدًا سِرًّا إِلَى اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

خبر من حصبا فرما با وجو استرکی خبر اللہ مال حصبا علیہ السلام

رک میں مسرورین و خراج الاملا ت بنیدیه و جعل المسلمون لهم فناء معتم الله

وَيَسِّرْ لَهُمُ الْيُسْرَىٰ ۖ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ ۝

۱۰۰



Downloaded from <http://ajphaphysocpharm.sagepub.com/> at 11:06 11 November 2014

MANUSCRIPTS

A Note from Wordsmiths

“Hold firm to the *maghāzī* of Mūsā because he is a reliable man. He sought them in old age with the aim of making a record of those who participated with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and he did not report excessively as others did.”¹

IMAM MĀLIK IBN ANAS ﷺ

Introduction

The work at hand is the translation of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* (*Expeditions*), the earliest biography of the Messenger ﷺ in current existence. Given its unattainability² for the past few centuries, the pleasure at the rediscovery of its manuscripts and its subsequent publication cannot be understated. Its author ranks as one of the first individuals to compile reports specifically related to the *sīrah*. More significant, however, is the fact that it was acclaimed as the most authentic work of its genre and an authoritative source for later writings on the life of the Prophet ﷺ.

The Author

Born in Medina, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah ibn Abī ‘Ayyāsh al-Miṭraqī³ was from the *mawālī*⁴ of the family of Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām ﷺ, an eminent Companion, and also the cousin and brother-in-law of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.⁵ By virtue of this, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah was affiliated to the Quraysh, and more specifically, the Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah tribe. Opinion is divided on who exactly manumitted Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s family, as well

1 *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 6, p. 115.

2 The last person to have accessed this text was al-Diyār Bakrī 464 years ago. Marsden Jones comments, “He (i.e., Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah) wrote a work in *maghazi* but it has not reached us, despite it still being extant until the 10th century.” (Marsden Jones, “Preface to Critical Edition”, in Muḥammad ‘Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 24.)

3 This is an attribution to Miṭraq, a place in Yemen where the family of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah probably traces back to before settling in Medina.

4 *Mawālī*, plural of *mawlā*, are freed slaves who are affiliated to the family or tribe who frees them.

5 His mother Ṣafīyyah was the paternal aunt of the Prophet ﷺ and his father was the brother of Khadijah ﷺ, the wife of the Prophet ﷺ.

as the exact individual who was manumitted. According to Ibn Sa‘d, Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām ؓ freed Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s maternal grandfather, Abū Ḥabībah.⁶ Others opine that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah was the *mawālā* of Umm Khālīd, the wife of Zubayr ؓ.⁷

The fact that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah belonged to the *mawālā* as opposed to the noblesse was not in any way disdainful, nor did it put him at a disadvantage in acquiring knowledge. On the contrary, it afforded him proximity to the likes of ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, his two sons Hishām and Yaḥyā, ‘Āmir ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Zubayr, and Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far ibn al-Zubayr, all great scholars in their own right. Due to their close link with the Prophetic household – not least because of their aunt the Mother⁸ of the Believers (Umm al-Mu‘minin) ‘Āishah ؓ – the family of Zubayr ؓ were well-placed to learn about the Prophet ﷺ up-close, an advantage that would have extended to their *mawālā* as well.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s date of birth is not explicitly mentioned in any work. However, he is said to have performed Hajj the year in which ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar ؓ was in Mecca, and Najdah al-Ḥarūrī⁹ also performed Hajj that year. Historians record this as 68 AH. Based on this crucial piece of information from Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah himself, some biographers estimated that he could not have been born too long after 55 AH.

Alongside seeing Ibn ‘Umar ؓ during Hajj, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah also saw the Companion Sahl ibn Sa‘d al-Sā‘idī ؓ, but he did not hear hadiths from either of them. He did nevertheless hear a hadith from Umm Khālīd ؓ, the wife of Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām ؓ, and categorically ruled out hearing hadiths from any Companion besides her. He said, “I did not meet anyone saying, ‘The Prophet ﷺ said...’ besides Umm Khālīd.”¹⁰

Needless to say, being from the *mawālā* of Umm Khālīd’s family was a major factor that gave Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah the circumstances to narrate from her, together with the fact that the Prophet ﷺ had gifted Umm Khālīd ؓ

6 *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 229.

7 *Tārīkh Ibn Abī Khaythamah*, vol. 2, p. 312.

8 “Mothers of the Believers” is an honorific term for the wives of the Prophet ﷺ. Allah ﷻ states, “The Prophet has a stronger affinity to the believers than they do themselves. And his wives are their mothers.” (*al-Aḥzāb*, 6).

9 Najdah ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥarūrī was one of the leaders of the Khawārij. He travelled for Hajj in 68 AH and made a truce with ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr ؓ, agreeing to a ceasefire throughout the Hajj period.

10 *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, pp. 360, 362.

a small black shawl as a child and prayed for her: “Wear it and wear it out”,¹¹ the blessing of which transpired in her living a long life. It is said that she was the last of the female Companions to pass away. On account of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah seeing the aforementioned Companions, he ranks amongst the Followers (Tābi‘ūn), more specifically the junior (*ṣiḡhār*) Followers according to Dhahabī.¹²

Amongst his tutors from whom he narrated hadiths, Ibn Ḥajar counts numerous prestigious individuals: Umm Khālīd (رضي الله عنها), Abū Ḥabībah (his maternal grandfather, the *mawlā* of Zubayr), Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Umar, Sālim ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Umar, Sālim Abī al-Ghayth, al-A‘raj, Nāfi‘ ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ‘im, Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Nāfi‘ the *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Umar (رضي الله عنه), Kurayb, ‘Ikrimah, Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabbān, ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Abdullāh ibn Dīnār, Ḥakīm ibn Abī Ḥurrah, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥāshimī, and many others.¹³ Other prominent teachers not listed by Ibn Ḥajar are: his mother Umm Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, Abū al-Zinād ‘Abdullāh ibn Dhakwān, Abān ibn Taghlib, Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān, Ṣafīyyah bint Abī ‘Ubayd (the wife of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar (رضي الله عنه)), Tāwūs ibn Kaysān, ‘Atā‘ ibn Abī Rabāḥ, Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, and Muḥammad ibn Ka‘b al-Quraẓī.

As one would expect, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s proficiency, especially as a hadith narrator, afforded him great students also, as listed by Ibn Ḥajar: his nephew Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj, Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī, Mālik ibn Anas, Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far, Ismā‘īl ibn Ja‘far, Wuhayb ibn Khālīd, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah, Sulaymān ibn Bilāl, Ibn Jurayj, al-Darāwardī, Ḥafṣ ibn Maysarah, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭahmān, ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Mubārak, Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ, Abū Qurrah, Mūsā ibn Ṭāriq, Abū Ḍamrah Anas ibn ‘Iyāḍ, Abū Badr Shujā‘ ibn al-Walīd, and others.¹⁴ Other notable names who were not listed by Ibn Ḥajar include: Shu‘bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj, ‘Abdullāh ibn Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Thābit, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Mis‘ar ibn Kidām, Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid, and Yaḥyā ibn Sulaym al-Hadhdhā’.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s erudition and his credibility as a hadith narrator were attested to by many hadith scholars, most prominently by Mālik ibn Anas, who referred to him as “the pious man (*al-rajul al-ṣāliḥ*)”. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal,

11 *Bukhārī* (5845); *Abū Dāwūd* (4024).

12 *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 6, p. 114.

13 *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, pp. 360-361.

14 *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, pp. 361.

Ibn Sa‘d, ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī, ‘Ijlī, Abū Ḥātim, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭahmān, and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn all concurred with Mālik and deemed Mūsā to be reliable (*thiqah*). Nawawī said, “They are unanimous upon his reliability, with Bukhārī and Muslim having narrated from him.”¹⁵

In fact, the authors of the six canonical hadith works all narrated hadiths containing Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah in their chain: 90 in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 44 in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 25 in *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, 18 in *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, 17 in *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, and 8 in *Sunan al-Nasā‘ī* – a total of 202 hadiths. Wāqidi said, “Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, and Muḥammad, the sons of ‘Uqbah, held circles in the Mosque of Allah’s Messenger ﷺ. They were all jurists and hadith experts, with Mūsā also issuing fatwas.”¹⁶ Abū Ḥātim said, “He is reliable (*thiqah*). He had two brothers, Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad, and he is the most reliable amongst the brothers.” Evident from the fact that he had his own circle in the Prophet’s Mosque, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah had a high standing amongst the residents of Medina – even his teachers held him in high regard. When Mūsā once went to his tutor ‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Umar, who was seated in the Rawḍah of the Prophet’s Mosque, ‘Ubaydullāh said to him, “May Allah forgive you. Why did you go to the trouble of coming to me? Had you called for me, I would have come to you at your residence.” Mūsā replied, “It has come to my knowledge that you narrate certain hadiths from Nāfi‘ which I did not hear from him.”¹⁷ I wanted to read them before you.” He then took out a scroll comprising some hadiths on the authority of Nāfi‘ and read them to ‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Umar.¹⁸

Some comments made by Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn seem to suggest that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah was weak in his narrations from Nāfi‘. However, Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar clearly dismissed this claim and provided the context to Ibn Ma‘īn’s comment: Ibn Ma‘īn classed the narrations of Mālik and ‘Ubaydullāh from Nāfi‘ to be of a higher calibre than those of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah from Nāfi‘. Dhahabī quoted Ibn Ma‘īn, on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Junayd, to have said, “Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah is unlike ‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Umar and Mālik with respect to Nāfi‘.” The most that this confirms is that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah was not on par with ‘Ubaydullāh and Mālik vis-à-vis narrating

15 *Tahdhīb al-Asmā’ wa al-Lughāt*, vol. 2, pp. 117-118.

16 *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, vol. 7, p. 519. It does not mean, as misunderstood by Josef Horowitz, that they would “forgather...for the purpose of study.”

17 Ṭahāwī states, “Here is Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, one of the most illustrious and foremost students of Nāfi‘.” *Sharḥ Ma‘ānī al-Āthār* (2219).

18 *Al-Kifāyah* (267).

from Nāfi', a point easily understood by anyone familiar with the varying classes (*tabaqāt*) of narrators. Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's credibility in this regard is also affirmed, as pointed out by Dhahabī, by the fact that both Bukhārī and Muslim included his narrations from Nāfi' in their *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections.¹⁹ As for Ibn Ḥajar, he stated quite decisively, "It is not authentically established that Ibn Ma'īn weakened him."²⁰

Besides his academic pursuits, Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah also participated in a number of jihad expeditions. His student Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī reported that Mūsā went out on expeditions alongside Sālim ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Umar during the reign of Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (86-96 AH).²¹ He passed away in Medina in 141 AH. Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān said, "He passed away before we entered Medina in the year 141."²²

The Maghāzī

Whilst Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's credibility as a hadith narrator was, as elucidated above, acknowledged by the hadith experts, his erudition in the area of *maghāzī*²³ is the most important factor behind his renown, earning him his reputation as a pioneering figure in the study of the Prophet's life. His was always the name Mālik ibn Anas would provide whenever he was asked whose *maghāzī* one should acquire. He said, "Hold firm to the *maghāzī* of Mūsā, because he is a reliable man. He sought them in old age, with the aim of making a record of those who participated with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and he did not report excessively as others did."²⁴ Emphasising the authoritativeness of his research, Mālik also said, "Whoever in Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's work is said to have participated in Badr

19 *Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā'*, vol. 6, p. 117.

20 *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 286.

21 *Masā'il Harb ibn Ismā'il al-Kirmānī*, vol. 3, p. 1062.

22 *Tārikh Dimashq*, vol. 60, p. 468.

23 *Maghāzī*, the plural of *maghzā*, means "military expeditions" and refers to all the campaigns – regardless of whether or not there was an encounter with the enemy – in which the Prophet ﷺ participated, as well as those in which he dispatched an army without participating himself. However, as an area of study from the life of the Prophet ﷺ, the term *maghāzī* took on a broader context to denote all aspects of the life of the Prophet ﷺ. *Maghāzī* and *sirah* thus became synonymous and began to be used interchangeably, albeit they also retain their individual meanings when used together. Moreover, in the nomenclature of the hadith scholars and biographers, a military campaign in which the Prophet ﷺ participated himself was called a *ghazwah* whereas one in which he did not participate was called a *sariyyah*. Again, *maghāzī* as an umbrella term refers to both *ghazwahs* and *sariyyahs*.

24 *Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā'*, vol. 6, p. 115.

definitely participated therein. Whoever is not mentioned in Mūsā's book did not participate in Badr."²⁵

Yahyā ibn Ma'īn said, "Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's work on the authority of Zuhri is amongst the most authentic of these works."²⁶ Shāfi'ī said, "There is nothing in the field of the *maghāzī* that is more authentic than his work, in spite of its small size and being free from most of that which is mentioned in other works."²⁷ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "Hold firm to the *Maghāzī* of Ibn 'Uqbah, as he was reliable."²⁸ Bayhaqī said, "The *Maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah is the most authentic *maghāzī* in the opinion of the people of knowledge and hadith."²⁹ Dhahabī said, "He had insight into the Prophetic *maghāzī* and compiled them in one volume. He was the first to write on the topic."³⁰ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī said, "It is the most authentic work written on the topic according to the majority,"³¹ and he referred to Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah as, "reliable; a jurist, and an imam in *maghāzī*."³²

Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah was of an era in which the systematic compilation of hadiths was well under way. Due to the centrality of the Prophet's sayings, actions, approvals, mannerisms, and other aspects of his life to elucidating the Qur'an, the earliest Muslims diligently noted and preserved everything in that regard. After the demise of the Prophet ﷺ, the enthusiasm with which they did this only increased, and ensuring this knowledge in its entirety reached future generations was a responsibility they did not take lightly. With the passage of time, the emphasis on compiling and writing all such information increased, and a number of Companions and Followers are noted to have had their own hadith compilations. Amongst the generation of Followers, Abān ibn 'Uthmān, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm, and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri are believed to be from the first compilers.

Unsurprisingly, the compilation of *maghāzī* works followed a similar trend and the earliest works of this genre trace back to the same period as the first hadith compilations. Although the focus and format of hadith

25 *Siyar A 'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 6, p. 116.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Al-Risālah al-Mustaṭrafah*, p. 82.

28 *Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 148.

29 *Ma'rīfah al-Sunan wa al-Āthār*, vol. 3, p. 307.

30 *Siyar A 'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 6, p. 114.

31 *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 8, p. 12.

32 *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 286.

and *maghāzī* works varied somewhat, both were essentially part of the same effort to preserve the life and teachings of the Final Messenger ﷺ, and so the *maghāzī* were disseminated with the same care and fervour. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, more famously known as Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, said, “We were taught the expeditions of the Prophet ﷺ, as well as those whom he dispatched, just as we were taught a *sūrah* of the Qur’an.”³³

This is why we find ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who officially commissioned the compilation of hadiths, decree that the *maghāzī* be publicly taught and disseminated. ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar ibn Qatādah, renowned for his knowledge of the *maghāzī* and *sīrah*, was assigned a seat by him in the Damascus Mosque and instructed to relate the *maghāzī* and the merits (*manāqib*) of the Companions to the people.³⁴ Likewise, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, one of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s foremost teachers, is also thought to have compiled reports on the *maghāzī* at the behest of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, just as he is reported to be amongst the first compilers of hadiths upon ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s instruction. As a pioneer in this area, Zuhri painstakingly collated all information he possibly could regarding the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and did not hesitate to approach whomever he knew to possess knowledge thereof. Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d narrated from his father, “Nobody was seen to have compiled [as many hadiths] after the Messenger of Allah ﷺ as Ibn Shihāb did.”³⁵ Through his endeavours, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri was able to spark a great interest in the *maghāzī*, one of the fruits of which was that he produced a number of students who, like their teacher, excelled and made their mark in this field. However, it was Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah and Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq who stood head and shoulders above all others, and whose works paved the way for the vast majority of all subsequent Prophetic biographies.

Although Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah is sometimes credited with being the first to compile the *maghāzī*, there is evidence to prove that he was preceded by others. Interestingly, Dhahabī, who claimed Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah was “the first to write on that (i.e., the *maghāzī*)”³⁶, also asserted the same, with almost identical wording, in favour of Mūsā’s teacher, ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr.³⁷ In fact, ‘Urwah features more prominently amongst those credited with this.³⁸

33 *Al-Jāmi‘ li Akhlāq al-Rāwī wa Ādāb al-Sāmi‘*, vol. 2, p. 288.

34 *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, under the entry of ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar ibn Qatādah.

35 *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 5, p. 326.

36 *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 6, p. 114.

37 *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 6, p. 424.

38 *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 9, p. 101.

Alongside his writings to ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, and others on various aspects of the life of the Prophet ﷺ, a number of scholars explicitly make mention of ‘Urwah having written a book exclusively on the *maghāzī*.³⁹

A more recent author, Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, states that Abān ibn ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān was the first to write on the Prophet’s life and that he presented his work to Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik in 82 AH.⁴⁰ As the son of the third Caliph, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān رضي الله عنه, Abān spent his whole life in Medina and excelled in the field of hadith. However, his distinction was in the *maghāzī*. Mughīrah ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is reported to have had a written copy of the *maghāzī* of Abān ibn ‘Uthmān,⁴¹ and there are reports in which Abān himself confirmed writing the *maghāzī* and *sīrah* of the Prophet ﷺ from credible narrators.⁴²

Suhaylī cites the work of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri and asserts: “It was the first *sīrah* to be written in Islam.”⁴³ After quoting Suhaylī on this issue, Shiblī Nu‘mānī suggests that Ibn Shihāb wrote it upon the instruction of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,⁴⁴ which is highly probable, considering that the formal compilation of hadiths by Ibn Shihāb was also at his behest.

Another opinion is that Ibn Ishāq, the renowned contemporary of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, was the first to compile the *maghāzī* of Allah’s Messenger ﷺ – this is what Ibn Sa’d stated.⁴⁵ There are yet more opinions in this regard, alongside attempts to reconcile between them. However, the objective here is not an exhaustive discussion, but rather to highlight the fact that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah being the very first to write on *maghāzī* is not conclusive. What the evidence does prove, unquestionably, is that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah belongs to the pioneers in the field of *maghāzī* and finds his rightful place amongst its first compilers.

39 See Dr. Mustafa Azami’s *Maghāzī* ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, p. 57.

40 *Al-A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 27.

41 *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa’d*, vol. 5, p. 156.

42 *Al-Akḥbār al-Muwaffāqiyyāt*, p. 275.

43 *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*, vol. 1, p. 325.

44 *Sīrah al-Nabī*, vol. 1, p. 44.

45 *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 7, p. 48.

The Motive Behind the *Maghāzī*

Understanding what motivated Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah to compile his *Maghāzī* – his only known work – also casts light on its significance and why it received the acclaim that it did. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir said, “Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah told us that there was a shaykh in Medina called Shuraḥbīl Abū Sa’d. He was from the most knowledgeable of people regarding the *maghāzī*, but they accused him of attributing feats to those who had no feats to their name. He became needy,⁴⁶ and so they undermined his *maghāzī* and knowledge.” Ibrāhīm further said, “I then mentioned this incident to Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah ibn al-Ṭawīl, with there being nobody in Medina who was more knowledgeable regarding *maghāzī* than him. He said to me, ‘Shuraḥbīl Abū Sa’d was a scholar of *maghāzī*. People accused him of including those who did not participate in Badr, those who were martyred in Uḥud and those who migrated, as well as those who were not amongst them. He became needy, and as such lost respect in people’s eyes. Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah heard about this and said, “People have become audacious in this?” Thereafter, he defended [the field of *maghāzī*] in old age, recording those who participated in Badr and Uḥud and those who migrated to Abyssinia and Medina, and he wrote this down.”⁴⁷

Salient Features of the *Maghāzī*

In selecting reports for his *Maghāzī*, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah adopted the methodology of a *muḥaddith* rather than that of an average historian. This was in keeping with the tradition of the Medinan School to which he belonged. He did not uncritically amass every report he had access to, an approach adopted more than often only to make a work voluminous or a captivating read. Rather, his objective was to present ascertained facts. With this objective in mind, he was very cautious in his compilation and only included reports that stood up to scrutiny. Mālik’s statement in praise of Mūsā – namely “He did not report excessively as others did” – is said to be an allusion to Mūsā’s contemporary, Ibn Ishāq, who was not known to be as stringent in that regard.

Ibn Ishāq’s work far outpaced Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s in terms of popularity

46 The accusation levelled against him was that he resorted to begging to fulfil his needs, but would distort the facts regarding people’s forefathers if they refused to give him anything. Hence, his work on *maghāzī* was discredited and deemed to be inaccurate due to his own financial interests.

47 *Tahdhib al-Kamāl*, vol. 29, p. 119; *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 6, p. 116.

and the attention it received, and as such Shāfi‘ī famously said, “Whoever wishes to become an expert in *maghāzī* is dependent on Muḥammad ibn Ishāq.”⁴⁸ However, it was Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* that indisputably garnered distinction with respect to authenticity and credibility. Consequently, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* was not as lengthy as other works of the same genre, as it was not intended to read as a comprehensive narrative of the Prophet’s life. Dhahabī said, “Most of it consists of authentic and good *mursal* narrations. However, it is brief and requires further explanation and completion.”⁴⁹

Moreover, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah was very assiduous and had a keen eye for subtle details often lost upon others. In instances where other biographers confused two separate individuals as one person or vice versa, or erred in the names of certain places, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah is noted to have meticulously recorded the details accurately, making his work an invaluable reference to correct such errors. Another noteworthy consideration is that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah compiled his *Maghāzī* towards the end of his life. This may seem an inconsequential point, but it is fair to say that the passion of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah – “the righteous man” as described by Mālik ibn Anas – to devote himself to the *maghāzī* in old age, in addition to his maturity and clarity of purpose, made him much less prone to embarking on this task for any ulterior motive.

The Influence of ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah drew extensively, but not exclusively, from his teacher Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. Dr Mustafa Azami said, “In his work, Mūsā b. ‘Uqbah has included almost the whole work of al-Zuhrī, so that Yahyā b. Ma‘īn said that the best on *al-Maghāzī* was the book of Mūsā from al-Zuhrī.”⁵⁰ However, one cannot ignore the influence of ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr on Mūsā, his teacher who was also linked to him on account of Mūsā being from the *mawālī* of his family. The similarity between their narrations at times is so profound that biographers like Bayhaqī often combine their narrations when relating an incident. Moreover, the narrations of ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr are flowing, and free from embellishment and verbosity – the same is noted of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī*.

48 *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, p. 219.

49 *Sīyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 6, p. 116.

50 *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature*, p. 281.

Other similarities between the styles of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah and ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr are: citing Quranic verses when relating certain incidents; citing Arabic poetry relevant to the incident in a succinct manner; being very thorough when mentioning the name, lineage, and tribe of a Companion; and precluding any irrelevant and superfluous information. In certain instances, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah and ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr concur on details when all other biographers adopted a different opinion. Conversely, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah differs with ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr in a number of places, with Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah reporting additional information which ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr does not report. The opposite is also true in some cases. Hence, it is evident that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah benefited greatly from ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr and closely followed his approach, without rendering him merely a transmitter of ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr’s work.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* and Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq’s *Sīrah*

The distinction of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* and its precedence in terms of authenticity can be appreciated further by comparing it to Ibn Ishāq’s work. Admittedly, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah and Ibn Ishāq are not too dissimilar in their works – after all, they both lived in the same era and city, were amongst the foremost students of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, and were classed as imams in the *maghāzī*. However, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah is known to have remained more conservative in his approach, as aforementioned, closely adhering to the methodology of hadith scholars. Ibn Ishāq, on the other hand, adopted a more novel approach by marrying the approach of the hadith scholars and that of story-tellers. Not confining himself to reports that met the criteria applied by hadith scholars, Ibn Ishāq also included historical reports – in particular *isrā’iliyyāt*⁵¹ – and poetry, both authentic and fabricated.

Ibn Ishāq also allowed himself the latitude to take from non-Muslim sources when reporting incidents regarding the Jews, Christians, and Persians. Undoubtedly, he did not resort to such reports when writing on the Prophetic era, and his sources in that regard are not dissimilar to those relied upon by Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah. However, being the first to diverge from the orthodox Medinan approach did expose Ibn Ishāq to criticism.

51 *Isrā’iliyyāt*, a term derived from “Banū Isrā’īl (Children of Israel)”, are reports from Jewish and Christian sources, as well as their folklore. As long as such reports do not contravene any aspect of the Shariah or are not irrational, some scholars rule that it is permissible to relate them.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s approach towards chains of transmission was also different to that of Ibn Ishāq. Whereas Mūsā ensured each report was written with its corresponding chain in a very transparent way, Ibn Ishāq would combine a number of chains, making it particularly difficult to distinguish the wording of each individual report when required.

As one may expect, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah and Ibn Ishāq also differed in some places, such as the details of those who migrated to Abyssinia and Medina, as well as the participants in various battles. Similarly, they differed on occasion with respect to the lineage of certain individuals and what their outcome was in a particular incident.

As for Mālik’s statement, “He did not report excessively as others did”, it is evident in Mūsā’s preclusion of any unnecessary details when relating incidents, and also in his careful selection of the particular verses of a poem that are relevant. Contrastingly, Ibn Ishāq is known to have explained things in great detail, even when there is no tangible benefit thereto, and included lengthy poems in his work which more than often distract the reader from the topic under discussion.

The Transmission of the *Maghāzī*

Numerous students of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah narrated reports on the *maghāzī* from him. However, his work reached us through the transmission of two individuals only: his nephew Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, and Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ ibn Sulaymān al-Aslamī. Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah was declared reliable by Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn, ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī, and Nasā‘ī. Dāraqutnī said, “I know not [regarding him] except goodness. His hadiths are authentic and pristine.”⁵² Accusations of being weak were dispelled by both Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, with the latter saying quite assertively, “He is reliable but was criticised without proof.”⁵³ He passed away in 169 AH.⁵⁴ As for Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ, he was not of the same standing as Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah. Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn deemed both Muḥammad ibn Fulayḥ and his father to be weak. Dhahabī said, “Some of them deemed him reliable, and he was more reliable than his

52 *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 272.

53 *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol.1, p. 65.

54 *Ibid.*

father.”⁵⁵ Ibn Ḥajar said, “He was truthful (*ṣadūq*) but would err.”⁵⁶

The *Maghāzī* According to Later Scholars

The authenticity of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* is evinced by the fact that later scholars heavily relied upon his work, incorporating many of its narrations into their own writings.⁵⁷ Ibn Sa’d included many of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s narrations in his own work *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, through the transmission of Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah. Bayhaqī took narrations from his *Maghāzī* in *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. However, he almost fully incorporated the entire work into his *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwah*, citing reports from other works to supplement Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s narrations or to fill in any gaps. Substantiating his reliance upon Mūsā, he echoed the approval of Mālik, al-Shāfi‘ī, and others, and referred to it as “the most authentic *maghāzī*”.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr narrated it through his chain of transmission, as stated in the preface to *al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifah al-Ashhāb*. Moreover, he stated his *sīrah* work *al-Durar fī Ikhtisāṣ al-Maghāzī wa al-Siyar* to be an abridgment of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s work, alongside Ibn Ishāq’s work through the transmission of Ibn Hishām.⁵⁸ Ibn ‘Asākir narrated it through his chain of transmission in *Tārīkh Dimashq* and cited a total of 117 excerpts therefrom. In his *Fihrist*, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī mentions two chains of transmission from himself to the author through which he narrates the *Maghāzī*. Abū Mūsā al-Maḳdisī also lists it in his *thabat*⁵⁹ amongst the works he had heard.

Ibn Sayyid al-Nās narrated it through his chain in his acclaimed *sīrah*

55 *Mizān al-I’tidāl*, vol. 4, p. 10.

56 *Taqrīb al-Taḥdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 201.

57 Alfred Guillaume, in his introduction to *The Life of Muḥammad* (p. xvi), which is a translation of Ibn Ishāq’s *sīrah* work, quite egregiously attempted to undermine Mālik’s, Shāfi‘ī’s, and Aḥmad’s authentication of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī*, saying, “Although Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfi‘ī, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal – an impressive trio – asserted that his book was the most important and trustworthy of all, posterity evidently did not share their opinion or more of his work would have survived.” However, the fact that scholars throughout the centuries incorporated Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s narrations into their own works, narrated it through their chains of transmission, and quoted it extensively belies Guillaume’s reductionistic conjecture that “posterity” contested earlier scholars’ authentication. A whole host of factors would have caused this invaluable work to become non-extant for a number of centuries; many other works met the same fate. That, however, does not detract from the work’s authenticity, as Guillaume asserts.

58 *Al-Durar fī Ikhtisāṣ al-Maghāzī wa al-Siyar*, p. 29.

59 A catalogue in which a shaykh’s audited books, the teachers with whom they were audited, and licenses (*ijāzāt*) to narrate hadiths are documented.

work *‘Uyūn al-Athar* and extensively cited therefrom. Dhahabī cited from Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* in *Siyar A ‘lām al-Nubalā’*, *Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāz*, and quite amply in *Tārīkh al-Islām*. Ibn al-Qayyim quotes from Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah in his monumental *Zād al-Ma ‘ād* and Ibn Kathīr did the same in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*.

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī narrated it through his chain of transmission, as stated in *al-Mu ‘jam al-Mufahras* and *al-Majma ‘ al-Mu‘assas*. In 26 places in *al-Iṣābah*, Ibn Ḥajar quotes Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah as evidence for certain Companions participating or being martyred in a particular battle. Likewise, he quoted him in numerous places in his magnus opus, *Fathḥ al-Bārī*. Maqrīzī cited it in his *Imtā ‘ al-Asmā ‘* in 72 places.

Orientalist Criticism of the *Maghāzī*

As with other *sīrah* works, Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s *Maghāzī* was not spared criticism by Orientalist scholars, as part of their relentless efforts to besmirch the character of the Prophet ﷺ, or in the least, bring into question the veracity of the primary sources that detail his life. In fact, on account of the *Maghāzī* ranking as the most credible work of its genre, one who appreciates the Orientalist mindset could not possibly expect it to escape scrutiny; denigrating the most authentic work on the Prophet’s life will, with greater reason, plant the seed of doubt regarding all other writings on the *sīrah*.

In 1953, Joseph Schacht, known for his untenable theories regarding the evolution of hadith and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), dedicated a whole article to Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah and the extract of the *Maghāzī* published by Sachau in 1904. Schacht contested the authorship of the *Maghāzī* and argued that any reports it contained from other than Zuhri were additions made by people after Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah. He went as far as to claim that the names of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s teachers and students mentioned in later works were a product of spurious chains of transmission and traditions, presenting as evidence the fact that the biographical entries written by Ibn Sa‘d and Bukhārī⁶⁰ are considerably shorter. A further assertion made by Schacht is that whenever Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah narrates from Nāfi‘, Sālim, or others, Zuhri is most assuredly the undisclosed link between Mūsā and them. He also went out of his way to identify certain political leanings in

60 In *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, Bukhārī states that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah heard from Umm Khālid, with no mention of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, and only mentions Sufyān al-Thawri, Shu‘bah, Mālik, Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah, and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Mubārak as his students.

some reports and dismissed them as fabrications that could not possibly be attributed to Mūsā.

Providing detailed answers to all Schacht's claims is beyond the scope of this introduction, and hence we are referring readers to Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Azami's cogent answers thereto in his *Studies in Early Hadith Literature*.⁶¹ Here it is sufficient to point out that Schacht's critique of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah is a striking example of a common device Orientalist writers adopted, namely to identify evidence – no matter how easily disprovable – and utilise it to prop a predetermined conclusion. This invariably required all evidence to the contrary to be ignored, coupled with a conviction in the reader's inability to see through the façade of impartiality and objective research.

It must be noted, however, that not all Western scholars approached Islam and its Prophet with the same malevolent perspective. Several of them deserve credit for bringing to light invaluable manuscripts and translating hadith, *sīrah*, and historiography works into various European languages. However, even those authors whose works were not tainted by bias and calumnies were prone to making grave errors, due to lacking sufficient command of Arabic, being unfamiliar with the Islamic sciences, and adopting a criteria to judge evidence that cannot compare to the sophisticated system Muslims had formulated. Of primary concern to a Muslim scholar is to examine the chain (*sanad*) of a report's transmitters, and not just its purport.

Another Western scholar, Josef Horovitz, exemplifies some of the above weaknesses in his claims. For example, in his work *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, Horovitz suggested that Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's use of the terms "Ibn Shihāb said (*qāla*)" or "Ibn Shihāb contended (*za'ama*)" indicates that he was citing from written notes of Zuhri, as opposed to directly hearing from him. Had this been true, it would mean that Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah was guilty of misleading (*tadlis*), with this type of deception being particularly contemptible according to the majority of scholars. However, the hadith scholars did not class Mūsā as a misleader (*mudallis*). Moreover, if the narrator is not known to be a misleader – as stands true in the case of Mūsā – using the term "he said (*qāla*)" is understood to denote hearing the report directly without any intermediary, provided it is proven that

61 Pp. 207-211; 260-265.

the narrator met the one from whom he is narrating.⁶² As for the term “he contended (*za ‘ama*)”, it is synonymous with *qāla* according to Abū al-Naṣr al-Jawharī.⁶³

The *Maghāzī*'s Recent Publication

Notwithstanding the fact that Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah’s work was deemed a trusted source on the *maghāzī*, the entire work became non-extant after the 10th century Hijri, and according to a more conservative opinion, the 8th century Hijri. The only portion of it that existed independently was a limited selection (*muntakhab*) of reports compiled by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 789 AH), comprising 18 hadiths taken from various sections of the *Maghāzī*. Eduard Sachau obtained the only available manuscript of this selection from the Prussian State Library, Berlin, and published it in 1904, along with its German translation and footnotes. Alfred Guillaume also translated it into English and included it in his introduction to *The Life of Muḥammad*, the translation of Ibn Ishāq’s *Sīrah*.

Earlier this year (2023), a substantial portion of the *Maghāzī* – through the transmission of Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah – was published in three volumes by Bashīr Bin ‘aṭiyyah Publications (Fez, Morocco). The editor, Muḥammad Ṭabarānī, wrote a detailed introduction to the work, constituting a whole volume in itself. The publication came to fruition after two manuscripts (MS 14032; MS 14033) were located in the National Library of Tunisia (al-Matkabah al-Waṭaniyyah). The manuscripts comprise a total of 91 folios. However, out of the *Maghāzī*’s 10 parts, the 1st and 2nd part are missing in their entirety, as well as one page from the 3rd part and most of the 10th part. This is why readers will find that the work begins with a report on the changing of the *qiblah* and ends upon the Farewell Hajj (Ḥajjah al-Wadā‘). In total, approximately a third of the entire work is still missing.

Additional details regarding the manuscripts are that an audition (*samā‘*) of the *Maghāzī* was conducted under Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Khalīl, more commonly known as Ibn al-Sharā‘ihī (d. 820 AH). The latter was said to be “The wonder of his era with respect to knowledge of monographs, narrated works, their narrators, and of high (‘ālī) and low (*nāzil*) narrations”, as described by Sakhāwī.⁶⁴ Accompanying Ibn

62 *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, vol. 3, pp. 214-215.

63 *Al-Ṣiḥāh*, vol. 5, p. 1941.

64 *Al-Daw’ al-Lāmi’*, vol. 5, p. 3. It is interesting to note that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah was also one of his

al-Sharā'ihī as a teacher for the audition was his sister Āyu Malik Umm al-Khayr bint al-Sharā'ihī (d. 815 AH)⁶⁵, who was fortunate enough to be part of many auditions conducted under her brother's supervision. Ibn Mūsā, Ubbī, and Ibn Ḥajar narrated from her.⁶⁶

The 8th part is preceded by the following chain of transmission: Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Rasha' ibn Naẓīf, from Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh ibn Hilāl al-Ḥinnā'i, from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Attāb, from Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Mughīrah, from Abū 'Abdillāh Ismā'īl ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqbah, from his paternal uncle Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah. The 10th part is preceded by an endowment notice (*waqfiyyah*) dated 1268 AH. The endower was Ahmad Pasha Bey, the 10th Bey de Tunis, and the two signatories were the Mālikī *shaykh al-Islām* and Ḥanafī *shaykh al-Islām*.⁶⁷ Besides the abovementioned points, details of the audition's registrar, the manuscript's scribe and the date of transcription are unclear.

With the earnest hope that the remaining parts of the *Maghāzī* are also discovered soon, we pray Allah graces this work with His acceptance, allows readers to benefit therefrom, and makes it a means of proximity to the Prophet ﷺ and his companionship in the Hereafter. Āmin.

students.

65 Ibn Ḥajar, however, reports meeting her in 836 AH (*al-Majma' al-Mu'assas*, vol. 3, p. 211).

66 *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, vol. 12, p. 11.

67 Their names in the signatures are not legible.



Title: Folio With View of Mecca

18th century, Ottoman Turkey

The detached folio probably comes from a manuscript containing a selection of prayers and Qur'anic verses of a type which was particularly associated with the Ottomans.

The Maghāzī of Sayyidunā Muḥammad



MŪSĀ IBN ʿUQBĀH

THE TURNING OF THE QIBLAH TOWARDS THE KA'BAH

“...a witness over you. We assigned your former direction of prayer only to distinguish those who would remain faithful to the Messenger from those who would lose faith. It was certainly a difficult test except for those [rightly] guided by Allah. And Allah would never discount your [previous acts of] faith. Surely Allah is Ever Gracious and Most Merciful to humanity.”¹

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ remained [facing al-Masjid al-Aqsa] for two months after the killing of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī².

1 *al-Baqarah*, 143.

2 ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was one of the allies of the Quraysh, and was killed during the raid of ‘Abdullāh ibn Jahsh ﷺ. [IGP-TD] [IGP-TD = Talut Ibn Sulaiman Dawood]

THE BATTLE OF BADR

Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb approached from the Levant (*al-Shām*) with a trade caravan of the Quraysh, accompanied by seventy riders, hailing from all of the Quraysh's clans, with Makhramah ibn Nawfal and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ amongst them. They were trading in al-Shām and had with them the essential needs of the people of Mecca. It is said that the caravan was comprised of one thousand camels, and there was not a single member of the Quraysh who possessed as little as one ūqiyyah³ except that they had some stake in what was sent with Abū Sufyān. The only exception was Ḥuwayṭib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and that is why he remained behind from Badr and was not present there.

They were mentioned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions. The two sides were already at war. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī had been killed and, two men – 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam – had been taken prisoner⁴. So, when Abū Sufyān's caravan was mentioned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, he sent 'Adī ibn Abī al-Zaghbā' al-Anṣārī⁵ – from the Banū Ghanm⁶, but originally from Juhaynah⁷ – and Basbas towards the caravan as spies on his

3 Translator's note: An ūqiyyah is a historical unit of weight worth 40 dirhams.

4 The raid of 'Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh ﷺ took place on the 2nd of Rajab in the third Hijrī year. The Prophet ﷺ ordered 'Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh to travel; he also gave him a letter, which he told him to open after he had travelled with his companions for 2 days. The letter ordered him to continue on to Nakhlah, spy on the caravans of Quraysh, and then report their actions back to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. When they arrived, 'Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh decided to attack the caravan and gave his companions the option to do so or to refrain. They all agreed and attacked the caravan. During the battle, Wāqid ibn 'Abdullāh killed 'Amr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī; he represents the first casualty that the polytheists suffered at the hands of the believers. The Muslims returned with 'Uthmān ibn 'Abdullāh and al-Ḥakam ibn Kaysān as captives, while Nawfal ibn 'Abdullāh escaped. The Muslims also returned with the goods of the caravan as booty. (Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām al-Kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 166). [IGP-TD]

5 His full name was Sinān ibn Subay' ibn Tha'labah ibn Rabi'ah ibn Budhayl ibn Sa'd ibn 'Adī ibn Kāhil ibn Naṣr ibn Mālik ibn Ghaṭfān ibn Qays ibn Juhaynah al-Juhanī. He was one of the allies of Banū Najjār, and was present during Badr and all the subsequent expeditions. According to Abu 'Umar, he passed away during the rule of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ﷺ. (Ibn Ḥajar al-'Aṣqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, vol. 4, p. 392) [IGP-TD]

6 Banū Ghanm ibn 'Awf is a clan of the Khazraj tribe, which is a branch of al-Azd, a major Qaḥṭānī tribal confederation. (*Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, vol. 3, p. 894) [IGP-TD]

7 Juhaynah is a tribe originally of Bedouin origin, and represented one of the largest clans of Banū Quḍā'ah. They are believed to be the first Arab tribe that converted *en masse* to Islam. Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ ﷺ narrated that shortly after the Messenger of Allah ﷺ arrived in Medina, Juhaynah came to him and embraced Islam. Authoritative history works note that this occurred in Rajab of the second year after the Hijrah (*al-Sirah al-Ḥalabiyyah*, vol. 3, p. 138) [IGP-TD]

behalf. The two of them marched until they reached a Juhaynah settlement near the coast. They asked them about the caravan and Qurayshī traders, and they were informed about the group. So, they returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and told him. He thus mobilized the Muslims for the caravan, and this was during Ramadan.

Abū Sufyān⁸ advanced upon the people of Juhaynah, fearful of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions. He said: “Bring me news of Muḥammad.” His people told him about the two riders, ‘Adī ibn Abī al-Zaghbā’ al-Anṣārī and Basbas, pointing out where their camels were tied. “Take some of the droppings of their camels”, Abū Sufyān instructed. [When they were brought to him,] he broke them apart and found date seeds inside. “This is the fodder of the people of Yathrib⁹, and these are spies of Muḥammad and his Companions”, he said.

They proceeded with haste, frightened at being pursued, and Abū Sufyān dispatched a man from the Banū Ghifār¹⁰ named Ḍamḍam ibn ‘Amr to the Quraysh, [telling them]: “Head out to protect your caravan from Muḥammad and his Companions, for he has mobilized his Companions to confront us.”

‘Ātikah bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, was living in Mecca alongside her brother, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She saw a dream before Badr, and before Ḍamḍam proceeded towards them, which shocked her. That same night, she sent for her brother al-‘Abbās

8 His full name was Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Abd al-Shams ibn ‘Abd Manāf, Abū Sufyān al-Qurashī al-Umawī. He was among the prominent chiefs of Quraysh and led the opposition against the Prophet ﷺ, particularly in the Battles of Uhud and Aḥzāb. He eventually entered Islam in the year of the Conquest of Mecca and participated in the Battle of Hunayn. (Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, vol. 3, pp. 332-333) [IGP-TD]

9 Editor’s note: Medina’s original name was Yathrib, but the Prophet ﷺ renamed the city Medina (Medina), discouraging use of the name Yathrib. The official name then became “Medina Rasūl Allah (City of the Messenger of Allah)”. It is also referred to as al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah (The Enlightened City). The Prophet ﷺ also called it “Ṭābah” and “Ṭaybah”, both meaning “pure”. The word “yathrib” means “to criticise”, and the Prophet ﷺ disallowed names with bad meanings; he said: “Whoever says ‘Yathrib’ should seek forgiveness from Allah, for it is Ṭābah (Pure), for it is Ṭābah, for it is Ṭābah.” (Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*, vol. 30, p. 483.)

10 Banū Ghifār is a tribe that originally inhabited a valley between Mecca and Medina called Wādī al-Ṣafrā’. They were a branch of the Banū Ḍamrah and were also the clan of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī ؓ, who was the fifth person to embrace Islam. After the Prophet ﷺ arrived in Medina, the entire Banū Ḍamrah – which include the Banū Ghifār – entered into an alliance with the Muslims. The tribe later played a prominent role in the opening of Egypt. [IGP-TD]

ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib¹¹, and al-‘Abbās came to her. “I saw a dream tonight by which I am frightened,” she said, “and because of it I fear the destruction of your people.”

“What did you see?” he asked.

“I will not tell you until you promise not to mention it, for if they hear about it, they will malign us and make us hear things we do not like,” she replied. Al-‘Abbās promised her. She continued: “I saw a rider approaching from the highpoint of Mecca on his camel, shouting at the top of his lungs: ‘O traitors, leave within two or three nights!’ He approached, shouting until he entered the [Sacred] Mosque on his camel, and then he shouted three times. The men, women, and children turned towards him, and the people were absolutely petrified by him.

Then, I saw him appear on the top of the Ka‘bah on his camel, and [again] he shouted three times. He said: ‘O traitors! O evildoers! Leave within two or three nights!’

Then, I saw him appear on the top of Abū Qubays¹², and [again] he shouted three times. He cried, ‘O traitors! O evildoers!’ until all the people of Mecca between the Akhshabayn¹³ heard. Then, he brought forth a huge rock, pulling it from its roots and then casting it upon the people of Mecca. The rock cascaded with an intense rumble until it reached the base of the mountain and smashed. I do not know of a single house or home in Mecca that a segment of that rock did not enter, so I fear for your people.”

Al-‘Abbās [too] was alarmed by her dream. He left her and met with al-Walid ibn ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah¹⁴ in the last portion of that same night. Al-Walid was a close friend of al-‘Abbās. He recounted ‘Ātikah’s dream to him and instructed that he not tell a soul. [Nevertheless,] al-Walid told

11 Al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī was a wealthy merchant who protected the Messenger of Allah ﷺ in Mecca. However, he did not emigrate with the Prophet ﷺ to Medina and was forced to participate in the Battle of Badr with the Quraysh. In the aftermath of the Battle, he was allowed to ransom himself and his nephew, and returned to Mecca. According to Ibn Hishām, he secretly became Muslim before returning to Mecca. In another view championed by al-Ṭabarī, he entered Islam shortly before the Conquest of Mecca. He was among the main figures who participated in the expedition of Ḥunayn. He passed away in 32 AH. [IGP-TD]

12 Translator’s note: A mountain in Mecca.

13 Translator’s note: A name for the two mountains of Mecca, Abū Qubays and the Red Mountain.

14 Al-Walid ibn ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah was born approximately 48 years before the Hijrah, and was the son of one of the chiefs of Quraysh, namely ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah. Both were vehement enemies of the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslims. Al-Walid was the full brother of Abū Hudhayfah, one of the Qurayshī Companions who participated in the Battle of Badr. He was killed during the latter military encounter. [IGP-TD]

his father ‘Utbah and ‘Utbah told his brother Shaybah, and the story continued to be passed along until it reached Abū Jahl ibn Hishām and [from there] proliferated through the Meccan population.

The next morning, al-‘Abbās was circumambulating the House (i.e., the Ka’bah) when he came across Abū Jahl¹⁵, ‘Utbah ibn Rabī’ah¹⁶, Shaybah ibn Rabī’ah¹⁷, Ubayy ibn Khalaf¹⁸, Umayyah ibn Khalaf¹⁹, Zam’ah ibn al-Aswad²⁰, and Abū al-Bakhtari²¹ in a group of the Quraysh conversating. When they saw al-‘Abbās, Abū Jahl called out: “O Abū al-Faḍl,²² when you have completed your circumambulation (*ṭawāf*), come over to us.”

When al-‘Abbās had completed his *ṭawāf*, he went and sat with the group. “What is the dream that ‘Ātikah saw?” Abū Jahl asked him.

“She did not see anything”, he replied.

“Are you not satisfied, O Banū Hāshim, with the lying of men, that you

-
- 15 ‘Amr ibn Hishām ibn al-Mughīrah ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī’s original epithet was Abū al-Ḥakam (“the Father of Wisdom”). But after he had killed Sumayyah bint Khayyāt because of her open declaration of Islam, he was known as Abū Jahl (“the Father of Ignorance”) within the nascent Muslim community. He was among the most prominent leaders of Quraysh in Mecca and one of the most oppressive of them towards the Muslims. He was killed in the Battle of Badr. [IGP-TD]
 - 16 ‘Utbah ibn Rabī’ah al-‘Abshamī al-Qurashī al-Kanātī was born 68 years before the Hijrah, and presided as the leader of the clan of ‘Abd al-Shams, in effect becoming one of the leaders of Mecca. Like the other leaders, he opposed the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslims and thereby oppressed them in Mecca. He was an expert horseman but was killed at Badr. [IGP-TD]
 - 17 Shaybah ibn Rabī’ah al-‘Abshamī al-Qurashī was born 71 years before the Hijrah. He was the full brother of ‘Utbah and was killed alongside him in the Battle of Badr. [IGP-TD]
 - 18 Ubayy ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Ḥadhāfah ibn Jamḥ ibn ‘Amr ibn Lu’ayy ibn Ghālib ibn Fihir ibn Mālik was one of the leaders of the Quraysh and the brother of Umayyah ibn Khalaf. He was killed by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ in the Battle of Uḥud. [IGP-TD]
 - 19 Umayyah ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Ḥadhāfah was one of the nobles and elders of Quraysh. He holds the notorious distinction of being the polytheist leader who tormented Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ ؓ when the latter accepted Islam. He was killed, as will be noted later on in this work, in the Battle of Badr at the hand of Bilāl. [IGP-TD]
 - 20 Zam’ah ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn Quṣayy al-Qurashī was a prominent Qurayshī tribesman who opposed the call to Islam. Both he and his father al-Aswad attempted to formulate a compromise with the Prophet ﷺ in order to dissuade him from his religious mission, but the Prophet ﷺ refused. At the same time, however, he was also among those who called for a cancellation of the embargo of the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib for their support of the Prophet ﷺ. He was killed during the Battle of Badr. [IGP-TD]
 - 21 Abū al-Bakhtari ibn Hishām’s full name was al-‘Āṣ ibn Hishām ibn Ḥārith ibn Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn Quṣayy. He was one of the chieftains of Quraysh during the Jāhiliyyah period, and is considered to be one of the figures who broke the embargo on the Banū Hāshim and the Banū Muṭṭalib. He was present with the polytheists at Mecca, but the Prophet ﷺ ordered the believers not to kill him. However, he proceeded to fight with al-Majdhār ibn Ziyād al-Balawī, and was subsequently killed. [IGP-TD]
 - 22 Translator’s Note: “Father (or person) of virtue”.

come to us with the lying of women?!” Abū Jahl said. “We and you are like two contesting horses, and for a while we have been competing for glory. When we were running neck to neck, you said: ‘We have a Prophet.’ So, the only thing left for you to say was: ‘We have a female Prophet [too].’ I do not know any woman or man of the Quraysh who is more of a liar than you!” And he [continued to] insult him in a severe manner.

Abū Jahl continued: “‘Ātikah claims that the rider said: ‘Leave within two or three nights.’ If these three [nights] pass, then your lies will be clear to the Quraysh and we will record in writing that you are the most dishonest household of all the Arabs, both your men and women. O Banū Quṣayy, were you not satisfied with having taken [the positions of] doorkeeper [of the Sacred House], [leading] the assembly, providing water [to pilgrims], [bearing] the flag, and [providing] the saddlecloths, that you had to [also] come to us with a Prophet from amongst you?”

“Are you going to desist?” al-‘Abbās replied: “for indeed, it is you and the people of your household who are the liars!”

Those who were present said: “O Abū al-Faḍl, you were neither [known to be] ignorant nor foolish.”

Al-‘Abbās then received severe abuse from ‘Ātikah on account of divulging her dream.

On the evening of the third night from the night ‘Ātikah had seen her dream, the rider Abū Sufyān had sent them, Ḍamḍam ibn ‘Amr al-Ghifārī, arrived. He cried out: “O family of Ghālib ibn Fih²³, march out, for Muḥammad and the people of Yathrib have come out to confront Abū Sufyān. So, protect your trade caravan.”

The Quraysh were terrified, and became apprehensive of ‘Ātikah’s dream. Al-‘Abbās said: “You thought that I lied and ‘Ātikah lied.”

They then set out on every unruly and tractable mount.

Abū Jahl said: “Does Muḥammad think that he will get the same from us as he did from Nakhlah? He will come to know whether we will protect our caravan or not!”

They set out with 950 fighters and rode one hundred horses. They did not leave anyone who was reluctant to go forth whom they believed to sympathize with the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions, anyone they knew was a Muslim, and anyone from the Banū Hāshim

23 One of the direct ancestors of the Prophet ﷺ and of the Quraysh. [IGP-TD]

– except those whom they did not suspect – except that they took them out with them. Amongst those whom they took out were al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith, Ṭālib ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, amongst others. And there, Ṭālib ibn Abī Ṭālib recited [the following verses of poetry]:

“O my Lord, if Ṭālib sets out,
In a brigade of cavalry from these brigades,
Amongst a group of fighters and warriors,
Then let him be the plundered and not the plunderer,
And let him be the vanquished and not the victor.”

They continued on their way until they stopped off at al-Juḥfah, where they disembarked for water supplies. There was a man with them from the Banū al-Muṭṭalib ibn ‘Abd Manāf called Juḥaym ibn al-Ṣalt ibn Makhramah. Juḥaym rested his head and began to drift off, but then was startled: “Did you see that warrior standing in front of me just now?” he asked his companions.

“No”, they replied: “you must be possessed.”

“No, a warrior was standing in front of me just now, and he said, ‘Abū Jahl, ‘Utbah, Shaybah, Zam‘ah, Abū al-Bakhtarī, and Umayyah ibn Khalaf will be killed”, he insisted, and he listed the nobles from the disbelievers of the Quraysh.

“It is only Shayṭān (Satan) playing with you”, his companions told him.

Juḥaym’s words were conveyed to Abū Jahl. “You have brought us the lies of the Banū al-Muṭṭalib along with the lies of the Banū Ḥāshim”, he said. “You will see tomorrow who is killed!”

[Meanwhile,] the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was told that the trade caravan of the Quraysh had arrived from al-Shām, and that Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Makhramah ibn Nawfal²⁴,

24 Makhramah ibn Nawfal ibn Uhayb ibn ‘Abd Manāf ibn Zuhrah ibn Kilāb al-Zuhri was the father of the famous Companion al-Miswar ibn Makhramah ؓ. He accepted Islam in the year of the Conquest of Mecca. Despite being old in age, he was very knowledgeable of the field of genealogy, and as such people would come to him to learn of the various family trees and lineages. He also possessed knowledge of the limits of the Sanctuary as well as their markers. In a hadith, al-Zubayr ibn Bukkār relates from Ibn ‘Abbās ؓ that Jibril ؑ presented to Ibrāhīm ؑ the limits of the Sanctuary. As such, the latter erected them (i.e. their markers). Thereafter, Ismā‘īl ؑ renewed and retained their respective positions. Then, Quṣayy ibn Kilāb

‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ²⁵, and four [others] from the Quraysh were a part of it. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went out towards them, following them as they departed for Badr along the narrow mountain path of the Banū Dīnār²⁶, and returning when they returned from Thaniyyāt al-Wadā‘ (The Farewell Mount).

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ proceeded to Badr when they proceeded, accompanied by 316²⁷ men. Many of his Companions lagged behind and waited, and it was the first incident in which Allah granted honour to Islam [with a victory over the disbelievers].

They set out during Ramadan, eighteen months after the arrival of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to Medina. He was accompanied by Muslims

kept them in place. Thereafter, the Prophet ﷺ maintained their spots. Later, during his rule, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رضي الله عنه dispatched Makhramah ibn Nawfal and others alongside him to renew them. (Ibn Hajar al-‘Aṣqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, vol. 6, pp. 41-42) [IGP-TD]

- 25 ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ ibn Wā’il ibn Hāshim ibn Su‘ayd ibn Sahm ibn ‘Amr ibn Huṣayṣ ibn Ka‘b ibn Lu‘ayy al-Qurashī al-Sahmī. He entered Islam before the Conquest of Mecca, that is, in the summer of the 8th year after the Hijrah. Upon being asked what delayed him from entering Islam, he replied, “We were with people who had precedence among us. Thus, when the Prophet ﷺ was sent, and they denied him, we stuck by their sides. When they had gone, and affairs were turned over to us, we investigated, contemplated the matter, and the truth became clear. As a result, Islam entered my heart.”

After entering Islam, the Prophet ﷺ appointed him as a commander of the Muslim armies. Notably, he led the Muslim forces during the Battle of Dhāt al-Salāsīl.

The Prophet ﷺ then appointed him as the governor of Oman. He retained that post until the Prophet ﷺ passed away. After that, he was one of the expeditionary commanders that led the armies in the Syrian front during the rule of ‘Umar رضي الله عنه. Under his leadership, the town of Qinnasrīn was conquered, and he made a treaty with the people of Aleppo. After that, ‘Umar appointed him as governor of Palestine. He passed away in the year 43 after the Hijrah. (Ibn Hajar al-‘Aṣqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*) [IGP-TD]

- 26 The Banū Dīnār are a branch of the Khazraj tribe of Medina. [IGP-TD]

- 27 The exact number of participants is differed upon. The most authentic narration is found in al-Bukhārī (hadith no. 3958), in which al-Barā’ ibn ‘Āzib رضي الله عنه said, “We – the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ – used to discuss that the number of companions that participated in Badr was the same as the companions of Ṭālūt (Saul) who crossed the river with him. Only believers crossed with him. (They were) *biḍ’ah* ‘*ashr* and three hundred.” The term *biḍ’ah* is an unspecified number between 3 and 11. Thus, *biḍ’ah* ‘*ashr* would fall between 13 and 17, making the estimated number between 313 and 317 men. Another narration related by al-Tirmidhī puts their number at 313. Nevertheless, there are estimates of 315, 317, and 319 as well. Ibn Jarir also narrated that they were 306 men. In *Faṭḥ al-Bārī*, Ibn Hajar explained that there were a group of Companions (with most estimates being that they were 8 in total) that did not attend the fighting and were excused by the Prophet ﷺ. Among this group was the noble Companion ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān رضي الله عنه. The members of this group nevertheless shared in the spoils and the reward. As such, they were counted among the active participants.

He goes on to combine between the narrations by stating that the total number of those who participated in the fighting were either 305 or 306. [IGP-TD]

who were only seeking [to ambush] the caravan. They followed the narrow mountain path of the Banū Dīnār. The Muslims did not have strong mounts. Rather, they had only set out upon water-carrying camels, each group amongst them taking turns on one camel. The partners of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ were 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Marthad ibn Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī – an ally of Ḥamzah – and they only had one camel between them.

They marched until 'Irq al-Ḍubyah,²⁸ where they were met by a rider from Tihāmah²⁹. As the Muslims proceeded, a group from the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ came across him and asked him about Abū Sufyān.

“I do not know anything about him”, the rider replied.

When the Companions had given up on glean any information, they said to him: “[Come and] greet the Messenger of Allah.”

“The Messenger of Allah is amongst you?” he asked.

“Yes”, they replied.

“Which one of you is him?” he asked, and they pointed him out.

“Are you the Messenger of Allah, as you say?” the Bedouin asked.

“Yes”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

“If you are the Messenger of Allah, as you claim, then tell me what is in the stomach of this camel of mine”, he said.

A man from the Anṣār (Helpers)³⁰, from the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal³¹, called Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn Waqsh³², became angry, and he said to the Bedouin: “You had intercourse with your camel and she fell

28 A place between Mecca and Medina near al-Rawḥā', which lies 73 kilometers away from Medina. [IGP-TD]

29 Tihāmah is the name for the Red Sea coastal plain of the Arabian Peninsula. It stretches south from the Gulf of Aqabah and extends all the way to the Bab el-Mandeb Strait in modern day Yemen. [IGP-TD]

30 Editor's note: The Aws and Khazraj tribes of Medina are given the title of al-Anṣār (The Helpers) because they helped the Prophet ﷺ at his time of need. The Meccan Muslims who emigrated to Medina with the Prophet ﷺ are called al-Muhājirūn (The Emigrants). Hence, the oft-repeated phrase “al-Muhājirūn wa al-Anṣār (The Emigrants and Helpers)” is used for the early Companions.

31 A clan that is a branch of the Aws. [IGP-TD]

32 His full name was Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn Waqsh ibn Zughbah ibn Za 'ūā' ibn 'Abd al-Ashhal al-Anṣārī al-Ashhalī. According to Ibn Ishāq, Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, and other authors of the *ṣīrah* literature, he was among the people of the Pledge of al-'Aqabah and a participant of Badr. Al-Ṭabarī stated that he attended both pledges of 'Aqabah and all military campaigns. With regard to the year of his death, two different dates are provided: 34 AH and 43 AH. (*al-Iṣābah fī Tamīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 3, pp. 124-125. [IGP-TD])

pregnant from you!” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ disliked the obscene words he heard from Salamah, and he turned away from him.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ continued, with no news of the Quraysh or knowledge of their caravan.

The Prophet ﷺ said to his Companions: “Give me your opinions regarding our plans and journey.”

Abū Bakr said: “O Messenger of Allah, I am the most knowledgeable of the people regarding the distance of the land. ‘Adī ibn Abī al-Zaghbā’ informed us that the caravan was in such-and-such valley. If the one who informed me has told me the truth, then today they will be at such-and-such distance from the place we are at now, as though we are competing horses (i.e., we have covered the same distance).”

The Prophet ﷺ repeated: “Give me your opinions.”

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: “O Messenger of Allah, they are the Quraysh with [all] their might. By Allah, they have not been humbled since they were raised, neither have they believed since they disbelieved. By Allah, they will fight you. Therefore, ready yourself for that properly and be fully prepared for it.”

The Prophet ﷺ repeated: “Give me your opinions.”

Al-Miqdād ibn ‘Amr³³, who was counted as one of the Banū Zuhrah, said: “We will not say as the companions of Mūsā said: ‘So go – both you and your Lord – and fight; we are staying right here!’ Rather, [we say:] ‘So go – both you and your Lord – and fight; we are following with you!’”

The Prophet ﷺ again repeated: “Give me your opinions.”

When Sa’d ibn Mu’ādh³⁴ saw the Prophet ﷺ seeking the opinions of his Companions repeatedly, them responding to him with their views, and then the Prophet ﷺ asking again, Sa’d ibn Mu’ādh realized that he might

33 Al-Miqdād ibn ‘Amr was alternatively known as al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad. He was one of the early converts to Islam, and migrated to Abyssinia and to Medina. He participated in all the campaigns of the Prophet ﷺ and, later, the conquests of Shām (Levant) and Egypt. He passed away in the year 33 after the Hijrah. (Muhammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A ‘lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. 1, p. 386). [IGP-TD]

34 His full name was Sa’d ibn Mu’ādh ibn al-Nu’ mān ibn Imru’ al-Qays ibn Zayd ibn ‘Abd al-Ashhal ibn Jusham ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj ibn al-Nabit ibn Mālik ibn al-Aws al-Anṣārī al-Ashhalī. He was the leader of the Aws clan. His mother, Kabashah bint Rāfi’ was a female Companion. He participated in the Battle of Badr and was present on the Day of the Ditch (al-Khandaq). In the latter contest, he was shot with an arrow. He lived for a month after being injured until he passed his judgement regarding the Banū Qurayzah. After that, his wound festered and he died. That was in the year 5 AH. [IGP-TD]

be wanting the Anṣār to speak, fearing that they were not wholly with him in his endeavour. So, Sa'd ibn Mu'adh said: "Perhaps, O Messenger of Allah, you fear that the Anṣār do not want to support you or do not see any duty [to do so] upon themselves, except if they saw enemies in their own homes or amongst their own children and wives. I will speak and respond on behalf of the Anṣār: O Messenger of Allah, journey wherever you wish, make close your ties of love with whomever you wish, sever ties with whomever you wish, take from our wealth whatever you wish, and give us whatever you wish. Whatever you take from us is more beloved to us than whatever you leave, and we will follow any command you give us. By Allah, if you marched until you reached Bark al-Ghimād in Yemen,³⁵ we would march with you."

When Sa'd ibn Mu'adh made this statement, the Messenger ﷺ said: "Proceed in the Name of Allah, for I have seen where the people will be killed", and they headed towards Badr.

Abū Sufyān moved downward and stuck to the coast, fearing the look-out at Badr. Once he had departed from the route of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and saw that he had safeguarded what was with him, he wrote to the Quraysh instructing them to return [to Mecca], stating: "You only came out to protect your caravan, and it has been protected on your behalf."

The news reached them at al-Juhfah³⁶. Abū Jahl said: "By Allah, we will not leave until we go to Badr, stay there, and feed any of the Arabs who visit us, for no-one will see us [in such number and strength] and then fight us."

Al-Akhnas ibn Shariq³⁷ disliked the proposal and wished that they return. He advised the people that they should do so, but they refused and defied him, filled with the pride of *Jāhiliyyah* (Pre-Islamic Ignorance). When al-Akhnas gave up on the prospect of the Quraysh returning, he

35 Translator's note: The southernmost point of Yemen.

36 Al-Juhfah is a region around 183 km from Mecca. It is the Mīqāt for pilgrims traveling from Sham, Egypt, North America and Europe, and other countries in Africa, where they enter state of Ihram.

37 Al-Akhnas ibn Shurayq ibn 'Amr ibn Wahb al-Thaqafi was an ally of the Banū Zuhrah. His real name was Ubayy. He was called al-Akhnas (lit. the one who retreats) because he retreated with the Banū Zuhrah before the Battle of Badr. His acceptance of Islam and companionship with the Prophet ﷺ is disputed, though Ibn Hajar emphatically affirms it in *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*. [IGP-TD]

imposed his will on the Banū Zuhrah, who obeyed him and went back. None of them participated at Badr. They were delighted with al-Akhnas's opinion and considered it a fortunate decision, and they continued to obey him until he passed away.

The Banū Hāshim [also] wished to join those returning, but Abū Jahl ibn Hishām clamped down on them, saying: "By Allah, this group will not separate from us until we return [together]."

[Meanwhile,] the Messenger of Allah ﷺ continued until he stopped off at night a short way before Badr. Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwām, and Basbas al-Anṣārī – who was counted amongst the Banū Sā'idah but was actually one of the Juhaynah – in a unit of his Companions, telling them: "Rush to this hillock" – it was in the direction of Badr – "for I am hopeful that you will find news at the well behind this hillock."

So, they set off, swords brandished, and they discovered the water-carriers of the Quraysh at the well that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had mentioned. They captured two servants – one black servant belonging to the Banū al-Ḥajjāj³⁸, and the other whose name was Aslam and belonged to the family of al- 'Āṣ. Their companions, however, fled back towards the Quraysh.

They brought the servants back to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, who was at the place in which he would rest during the last portion of the night, by the water. They started asking the two servants about Abū Sufyān and his companions, certain that they were from amongst them. The servants began telling them about the Quraysh, who from amongst them had come out, and about their chiefs. They were beating them, really hating what they were being told. They wanted to hear [that it was only] Abū Sufyān and his companions, and hated [being told it was] the Quraysh. Meanwhile, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was standing in prayer, hearing and seeing what they were doing to the two servants. When the two servants were given a beating, they would say: "Yes, it is Abū Sufyān, and the caravan – as Allah Exalted says – is 'below you'³⁹." Allah ﷻ says: "[Remember] when you were on the near side of the valley, your enemy on the far side, and the caravan was below you. Even if the two armies had made an appointment

38 A Qaḥṭānī tribe from Yemen. [IGP-TD]

39 *al-Anfāl*, 42.

[to meet], both would have certainly missed it. Still it transpired so Allah may establish what He had destined.”⁴⁰

And so it continued that if the two servants said: “This is the Quraysh that are coming to you”, they would beat them, and if they said: “This is Abū Sufyān”, they would leave them.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw what they were doing to them, he completed his prayer and said: “What did they tell you?”

“They told us that the Quraysh are on their way”, the Companions replied.

“They spoke the truth”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said. “By Allah, you are beating them when they tell the truth and leaving them when they lie. The Quraysh set out to protect their caravan and make you fear them.”

Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ called for the two servants. He asked them and they informed him about the Quraysh. They said: “We have no information about Abū Sufyān.”

“How many people are there?” the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked them.

“By Allah, we do not know”, they replied. “They are many.”

“Who fed you yesterday?” they say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked. They named a particular man from the tribe. “How many [animals] did he slaughter for them?”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

“Ten camels”, they replied.

“Who fed you the day before yesterday?”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked. They named a man from the tribe. “How many [animals] did he slaughter for them?”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

“Nine”, they replied.

They state that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “The tribe numbers between 900 and 1,000”, deducing that from the fact that nine animals were slaughtered on one day and ten were slaughtered on the other.

They state that the first person to slaughter for the Quraysh when they left Mecca was Abū Jahl ibn Hishām, slaughtering ten camels for them at Marr. Then, Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah⁴¹ slaughtered nine for them at ‘Uṣfān,

40 *al-Anfāl*, 42.

41 Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Ḥudhāfah ibn Jumah al-Jumahī. His father, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, one of the chiefs of the Quraysh, was a fierce opponent of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Muslims. The account of how he was killed at Badr, along with his cousin ‘Umayr ibn Wahb, is narrated below. He remained a disbeliever, even fleeing during the Conquest of Mecca. His wife, on the other hand, became a Muslim during the Conquest and remained in Mecca. It was not until after the Prophet ﷺ gave him a guarantee of safety that he

and Suhayl ibn ‘Amr⁴² slaughtered ten at Qudayd. From Qudayd, they headed for Manāt⁴³, in the direction of the sea. They stayed there for a day, and Shaybah ibn Rabī‘ah slaughtered nine camels. The next morning, they were at al-Juhfah, where ‘Utbah ibn Rabī‘ah slaughtered ten camels. The following morning, they were at al-Abwā’, where Miqyash al-Jumahī⁴⁴ slaughtered nine camels. Al- ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib slaughtered ten, and al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn Nawfal⁴⁵ slaughtered nine. Abū al-Bakhtarī slaughtered ten at the wells of Badr, and Miqyash al-Jumahī slaughtered nine at the wells of Badr. Then, they became occupied with the conflict, so they ate from their supplies.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood up and said: “Give me your opinions regarding where to stop.”

Al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir, a man from the Anṣār then the Banū Salimah, rose to his feet. “O Messenger of Allah”, he said: “I am the most knowledgeable regarding the land and its wells. If you see fit, you could proceed to one of the wells that I know which is abundant in fresh water. Stop there and beat the enemy to it, and fill in the rest [of the wells].”

“Proceed”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “for Allah has promised [to give] you the upper hand over one of the two factions.”

returned. He was then given 4 months to decide on whether he wished to become a Muslim. He eventually embraced the true faith and accompanied the Prophet ﷺ at the Battle of Ḥunayn. It is related that he remained a good Muslim for the rest of his life. His date of death is disputed, with some estimating that he died before ‘Uthmān ؓ, and others stating that he died during the reign of ‘Alī ؓ. 40 AH has also been provided as a possible year of death. [IGP-TD]

42 Ṣuhayl ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd al-Shams ibn ‘Abd Wudd ibn Naṣr ibn Ḥaṣl ibn ‘Āmir ibn Lu‘ayy. He was one of the main leaders of Mecca and a key figure who delivered sermons to its inhabitants. His family was also officially charged with feeding the pilgrims on an annual basis. He opposed the message of the Prophet ﷺ until the Conquest of Mecca, whereupon he became Muslim. He passed away in Palestine in the year 18 AH. (*al-Iṣābah*) [IGP-TD]

43 Translator’s note: One of the idols of the Quraysh.

44 Miqyas ibn Ṣabābah ibn Ḥazan ibn Yassār al-Jumahī was a *jāhili* poet. His brother, Hishām ibn Ṣabābah, became a Muslim. However, he was accidentally killed by one of the Anṣār during the expedition of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq in the year 6 AH. He then went to the Prophet ﷺ, feigned Islam, and asked the Prophet ﷺ for the restitution (i.e. blood money) due for his brother’s death. The Prophet ﷺ obliged and honoured his request. He stayed for some time in Medina until one day he fought with his brother’s killer and ended his life. He then fled to Mecca and renounced the faith of Islam. He was among the few figures whom the Prophet ﷺ ordered to be killed during the Conquest of Mecca. [IGP-TD]

45 Al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn Nawfal ibn ‘Abd Manāf ibn Qusayy ibn Kilāb al-Qurashī was the half-brother of Abū Lahab from the maternal side. He was one of the leaders and nobles of Quraysh, and among the fiercest opponents of the Prophet ﷺ and Islam. The Prophet ﷺ ordered that he not be killed at Badr. Rather, the Prophet ﷺ wanted him to be taken captive. Nevertheless, he was killed by one of the Companions who did not recognize him. [IGP-TD]

The people's hearts were filled with fear, and the intimidation of Shayṭān was leading to a sense of defeatism amongst them.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Muslims were racing to the wells. The polytheists moved rapidly in search of water. That night, Allah sent down a rainfall upon them. It was catastrophic for the polytheists and halted their march.

The Muslims, however, were caught in a light [but] continuous down-pour which provided them a way to proceed and find a place to stop – the ground had been too soft – and they beat the polytheists to the water. They lodged by the well halfway through the night. They went down into the well, drawing its water in buckets until its water increased. Then they constructed a great cistern and filled in the rest of the wells [in the area]. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “These will be their places of death, Allah willing, tomorrow.”

And Allah sent down: “[Remember] when He caused drowsiness to overcome you, giving you serenity. And He sent down rain from the sky to purify you, free you from Shayṭān's whispers, strengthen your hearts, and make [your] steps firm.”⁴⁶

It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had two horses with him, with Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr riding on one, and on the other Sa'd ibn Khaythamah, with al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām and al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad also taking their turns.

Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ lined up [his men in] rows at the cisterns. When the polytheists appeared, it is related that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “O Allah, this is the Quraysh who have come with their pride and haughtiness, and they have come to weaken and deny the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. O Allah, I ask You for what You promised me.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ was gripping onto Abū Bakr's arm and saying: “O Allah, I ask You for what You promised me.”

“Glad tidings, O Prophet of Allah”, Abū Bakr consoled: “for by the One in Whose Hand is my soul, Allah will fulfil what He promised you.”

The Muslims sought aid and assistance from Allah, and Allah answered [the prayers of] His Prophet ﷺ and the Muslims.

The polytheists advanced, accompanied by Iblīs in the form of Surāqah

⁴⁶ *al-Anfāl*, 11.

ibn Ju'sham al-Mudlijī⁴⁷, who was telling them that the Banū Kinānah were approaching from behind to assist them, and that, because of that: "No one can overcome you today. I am surely by your side."⁴⁸

Allah revealed: "Do not be like those [Pagans] who left their homes arrogantly, only to be seen by people"⁴⁹ until the end of the verse, as well as the verse after it⁵⁰.

Some men who accompanied the polytheists – from those who claimed to be Muslim and were forced to come out by the polytheists – said when they saw the dearth of those accompanying Muḥammad ﷺ and his Companions: "These [believers] are deluded by their faith."⁵¹

Allah said: "But whoever puts their trust in Allah, surely Allah is Almighty, All-Wise."⁵² The whole verse [was revealed].

The polytheists advanced until they lodged and prepared to fight, and Shayṭān never left them all the while. Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām hurried to 'Utbaḥ ibn Rabī'ah and said: "Would you like to be the chief of the Quraysh for as long as you live?"

"What would I do?" 'Utbaḥ asked.

"Protect the people and assume responsibility for the blood money of Ibn al-Ḥadramī and what Muḥammad captured from that caravan, for the only things they are seeking from Muḥammad are this caravan and the blood of this man", he said.

"Yes, I will do that. What an excellent thing you have said, and what

47 Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Ju'sham Mālik ibn 'Amr ibn Taym al-Mudlijī pursued the Prophet ﷺ during his migration, seeking the bounty that the Quraysh had placed for his capture. When he approached, however, the Prophet ﷺ supplicated Allah for His protection, and the legs of Surāqah's horse sunk into the Earth.

He later became Muslim during the Conquest of Mecca. After embracing Islam, he often expressed regret for pursuing the Prophet ﷺ.

The Prophet ﷺ promised him that he would wear the bangles of Khosrow, with this forecast coming to fruition many years later. He passed away in the year 24 AH during the reign of 'Uthmān ؓ. [IGP-TD]

48 *al-Anfāl*, 48.

49 *al-Anfāl*, 47.

50 The full text of these verses (*al-Anfāl*, 47-48) is the following: "Do not be like those [Pagans] who left their homes arrogantly, only to be seen by people and to hinder others from Allah's Path. And Allah is Fully Aware of what they do. And when Satan made their deeds appealing to them, and said, 'No one can overcome you today. I am surely by your side.' But when the two forces faced off, he cowered and said, 'I have absolutely nothing to do with you. I certainly see what you do not see. I truly fear Allah, for Allah is severe in punishment.'" [IGP-TD]

51 *al-Anfāl*, 49.

52 *al-Anfāl*, 49.

an excellent proposition you are making”, ‘Utbah replied. “Work on your clan, and I will take care of it.”

Ḥakīm endeavoured with the nobles of the Quraysh, calling them to that. ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah mounted a camel of his and rode through the ranks of his polytheist companions, saying: “O people, obey me, for you only seek from them [compensation for] the blood of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and what they captured from this caravan of yours, and I will take care of repaying [you for] those things. Leave this man (i.e., the Prophet ﷺ). If he is a liar, other Arabs will kill him [for you]. You have close relatives amongst them; if you kill them, then you will have to keep seeing the murderer of your father, brother, or nephew, which will in turn breed hatred and resentment amongst you. If this man is a king, then you will be in the kingdom of your brother. And if he is a Prophet, you will not kill a Prophet except that you will be cursed for doing so. You will not be able to reach them, I reckon, until they affect your numbers, and I do not feel safe from the tables turning on you in their favour.”

Abū Jahl envied him for his speech, but Allah refused but for His Decree to be fulfilled. ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah was the leader of the polytheists at the time. Abū Jahl went to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, the brother of the slain, and said: “This ‘Utbah ibn Rabi‘ah is disheartening the people and has assumed responsibility for the blood money of your brother, thinking that you will accept. Are you not embarrassed to accept the blood money?” Abū Jahl said to the Quraysh: “‘Utbah has realized that you are going to collaborate against this man and those accompanying him. His son and cousins are amongst them, and he does not wish for you to succeed.” As ‘Utbah was marching amongst them and imploring them, Abū Jahl said: “You lost your nerve!”⁵³

It is related that the Prophet ﷺ said, while watching ‘Utbah: “If there is goodness in anyone from this group, it is with the owner of the red camel. If they obey him, they will be guided.”

When Abū Jahl spurred the Quraysh to fight, he instructed the women to wail over ‘Amr. So, they stood up and cried out: “O ‘Amr! O ‘Amr!”, encouraging the people to fight. Some men stood and unclothed themselves, deriding the Quraysh thereby. The Quraysh thus agreed to fight.

53 Translator’s note: The literal translation is “your lungs have puffed up”, an idiom that denotes becoming anguished and losing courage.

‘Utbah said to Abū Jahl: “You will come to know today who lost their nerve, and you will come to know which of the two courses of action was better advised.”

The Quraysh took up their battle lines and said to ‘Umayr ibn Wahb: “Go on your ride and estimate the number of Muḥammad and his companions for us.”

‘Umayr mounted his horse and circled the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions. Then, he returned to the polytheists and said: “I estimate them to be three hundred fighters, give or take, and I estimate them to have seventy camels, or thereabouts. However, wait for me to observe if they have reinforcements or hidden support.”

[This time,] they sent their cavalry with him, and they circled the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions. Then, they returned and said: “They have neither reinforcements nor hidden support. Rather, they are only eating one camel⁵⁴ in unison.” They said to ‘Umayr: “Rouse the people.”

‘Umayr launched an attack on the ranks, but they returned with the death of the Quraysh.

Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Uways narrated to us from Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, from his uncle Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, who said:

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ lay down and said to his Companions: “Do not fight them until I give you permission.” Sleep overcame him. When the people could see each other, Abū Bakr started saying: “O Messenger of Allah, the enemy have drawn close and reached us.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ woke up. Allah had shown the enemy to him in his dream as few, as well as making the Muslims seem few to the polytheists, making the two parties eager to confront each other. If He had shown the believers their enemy to be many, they would have certainly faltered and disputed in the matter, as Allah said.⁵⁵

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions had two horses with them: one belonging to Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, and the other belonging to al-Miqdād ibn ‘Amr.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood amongst the people, exhorted them, and informed them: “Allah has assured Paradise for whoever is martyred today.”

⁵⁴ Translator’s note: An indication to how few they were.

⁵⁵ Translator’s note: See *al-Anfāl*, 43.

When ‘Umayr ibn Ḥumām of the Banū Salimah⁵⁶ heard what the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, he rose from some dough he was kneading for his companions and said: “O Messenger of Allah, will I attain Paradise if I am killed?”

“Yes”, he replied.

He charged against the enemies of Allah there and then, and Allah granted him martyrdom. He was the first person to be killed. Then, al-Aswad ibn ‘Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī⁵⁷ came forward, swearing by his deities that he would drink from the cistern that Muḥammad had made and then demolish it. He attacked, and as he approached the cistern, he was confronted by Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who struck and severed his legs. He advanced crawling until he fell into the middle of the fount, and demolished part of it. Ḥamzah followed him and then killed him.

When al-Aswad ibn ‘Abd al-Asad was killed, ‘Utbah ibn Rabī‘ah descended from his camel, fired up by what Abū Jahl had said to him. “Is there anyone to fight me in a duel?” he called out. “For by Allah, Abū Jahl will come to know which of us is more cowardly and contemptible.” He was joined by his brother Shaybah and his son al-Walīd, who both called out requesting duels.⁵⁸

Three men from the Anṣār stood to confront them. The Prophet ﷺ was embarrassed by that, for it was the first time the Muslims and polytheists had met in battle with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ present, and he wanted his cousins to be the ones to take a brave stance.⁵⁹ The Prophet ﷺ called to them: “Return to your battle lines and let their cousins stand up to them.”

Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib rose. Ḥamzah duelled ‘Utbah, ‘Ubaydah duelled Shaybah, and ‘Alī duelled al-Walīd, and Ḥamzah killed ‘Utbah,

56 One of the largest clans of the Khazraj tribe, with their homeland lying on the Western side of the Sal’ mountain south of Medina. [IGP-TD]

57 He was one of the elders of the polytheists of Mecca and a noble of the Banū Makhzum tribe of the Quraysh. He was also the half-brother of the Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Asad ﷺ, with both having the same father. [IGP-TD]

58 Editor’s note: The initiation duel (*mubārakah*) was a custom in Arabia to commence a war. Three individuals of status from each army would meet at centre stage and fight one-on-one. The idea was to rile up the armies to seek vengeance on behalf of those killed, or build on the momentum of the victors.

59 Translator’s note: i.e., he wanted the Muhājirūn to fight the Quraysh as they were from the same tribe.

‘Ubaydah killed Shaybah, and ‘Alī killed al-Walīd. Shaybah struck and severed ‘Ubaydah’s leg, but Ḥamzah and ‘Alī rescued him, and he was carried until he succumbed to his wounds at al-Ṣafrā’. Hind bint ‘Utbah said about this incident:

“O eye, be generous with flowing tears,
for the best of the Khindaf who never returned.
His clan called another against him one morning,
the Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib,
giving him a taste of their swords’ sharpness,
shackling him after he was struck.”

And with that, Hind bint ‘Utbah vowed that if she were able to do so, she would eat from Ḥamzah’s liver.

The killing of these three men took place before the two sides encountered each other. When they saw that the fighting had erupted, the Muslims cried out to Allah, asking Him for assistance. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ raised his hands to Allah, asking Him for that which He had promised him and for help, and saying: “O Allah, if this group (i.e., the Muslims) are defeated, polytheism will prevail, and the religion will not be established for You.”

Abū Bakr said: “O Prophet of Allah, by the One in Whose Hand is my soul, Allah will certainly aid you and brighten your face.”

Allah then sent down an army of Angels upon the shoulders of the enemy. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Allah has sent down His Help, and the Angels have descended. Be glad, O Abū Bakr, for I saw Jibrīl with his head turbaned, leading a horse between the Heavens and Earth. When he descended to the Earth, he sat upon it and was absent for me for a time. Then, I saw dust on his lips.”

Abū Jahl said: “O Allah, give victory to the better of the two religions: O Allah, our ancient religion or the new religion of Muḥammad.”

Shayṭān turned on his heels when he saw the Angels, absolving himself from aiding his people. Allah inspired His Angels and issued them His command, telling them that He is with them, instructing them to assist the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the believers.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ took a handful of dust and cast it in the faces of the polytheists. Allah made the impact of that dust great: it filled the eyes of every polytheist, and the Muslims started to fight them, with

Allah and His Angels on their side. They were killing them while taking [others] captive. They found every polytheist prone on their faces, not knowing which direction they were facing and trying to remove the dust from their eyes.

Before the fighting, the Prophet ﷺ had instructed the Muslims not to kill 'Abbās, 'Aqīl, Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith, or Abū al-Bakhtarī if they saw their backs (i.e., they fled). So, they were taken prisoner amongst those the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and others had requested, except for Abū al-Bakhtarī, who refused to be taken captive. It is related that they told him that the Prophet ﷺ had ordered for him not to be killed if he was taken captive, but he refused.

Many whom the Prophet ﷺ had not instructed to be captured were also taken prisoner in demand of ransom payments.

The people thought that Abū al-Yasar killed Abū al-Bakhtarī, but most people insisted that it was al-Mujadhdhar who killed him. Rather, and without doubt, Abū Dāwūd al-Māzinī⁶⁰ killed him and stole his sword, which remained with his offspring until one of them sold it to one of the children of Abū al-Bakhtarī.

Al-Mujadhdhar said:

“If you meet Bakhtarī tell him he is bereaved of his father,
And tell my sons the same of me.
I am the one who claims to hail from the Balī.
I thrust the spear till it bends almost double,
And you shall not see Mujadhdhar telling a lie.”

They say that he implored him to be taken prisoner, but Abū al-Bakhtarī refused and attacked him with his sword, so the Anṣārī stabbed him in the centre of his chest, finishing him off.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went to the slain searching for Abū Jahl, but he could not find him. This became visible in the demeanour of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ (i.e., his anxiousness on Abū Jahl not being found), and he said: “O Allah, do not let the Pharaoh of this nation escape.”

The Companions exerted themselves in the search until 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd found him slain, not too far from the battlefield, clad in armour

60 His name was either 'Amr or 'Umayr ibn Mālik ibn Khansa' ibn Mabdhūl ibn 'Amr ibn Ghanam ibn Māzin ibn al-Najjār. He participated in both the Battles of Badr and Uhūd. (*al-Iṣābah*) [IGP-TD]

and with his sword on his thigh, and with no [visible] wound. He was unable to move his limbs and he was lying prone, looking down at the ground. When ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd saw him, he moved around to kill him, all the while fearing he may rise towards him with a struggle. Abū Jahl was clad in armour. When he approached and saw him not moving, he thought that Abū Jahl was incapacitated on account of his wounds. He wanted to strike him with his sword but was afraid that it would not be effective. So, he approached him from behind, took the sword by its grip, and pulled it out, but he remained prone on his face and motionless. ‘Abdullāh lifted the helmet’s gorget from his nape and struck him. His head fell before him whereafter he took it. When he looked at him, he noticed that he had no wounds, but he saw marks on his neck, hands, and shoulders, similar to the marks caused by a whip.

Ibn Mas‘ūd went to the Prophet ﷺ and informed him that Abū Jahl had been killed, and also informed him of what he found on him. The Prophet ﷺ said: “That was the strike of the Angels.” He also said: “O Allah, You have fulfilled that which You promised me.”

The Quraysh returned to Mecca, utterly defeated. Al-Ḥaysumān al-Ka‘bī, the grandfather of Jasnā ibn Ghaylān, was the first to return to the polytheists with news of the defeat. The people gathered around him by the Ka‘bah to question him, and every nobleman of the Quraysh he was asked about, he announced their death. Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, who was sitting with a group of the Quraysh in the Ḥijr⁶¹, said: “By Allah, this man has lost his mind and his heart has flown away. Ask him about me, for I think he will announce my death also!”

“Do you have any information about Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah?” one of them asked al-Ḥaysumān.

“Yes, that is him sitting in the Ḥijr. I saw his father Umayyah ibn Khalaf killed”, he replied.

Then, the defeat of the Quraysh continued, Allah aided His beloved Messenger ﷺ and the believers, and humiliated the polytheists and Hypocrites⁶² through the events of Badr. Neither a Hypocrite nor Jew

61 Translator’s note: the unroofed area, originally part of the Ka‘bah and enclosed by a semi-circular wall.

62 Editor’s note: The term “Hypocrite” as a proper noun is distinguished from the regular adjective “hypocrite”, which refers to anyone whose actions and speech contradict. A “Hypocrite” with a capital “H” specifically refers to someone who publicly ascribes to the Islamic faith but does not have true belief of Islam in their heart.

remained in Medina except that his head was hanging low due to Badr. This was the Day of Distinction, the day that Allah distinguished between polytheism and faith.

The Jews said: "We hope that he is the Prophet we find described in the Torah. By Allah, any flag he raises after today will prevail."

The people of Mecca established one month of mourning in every house in the city for their dead, and the women shaved their heads. They would bring a man's camel or horse in front of the women and stand around it, wailing. They would take it out to the alleyways and cover it with drapes, and then they would wail around it.

None of the prisoners of war were killed in detention except for 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt, who was killed by 'Ashim ibn Thabit ibn Abi al-Aqlah of the Banu 'Amr ibn 'Awf. When 'Uqbah saw him heading towards him, he sought the aid of the Quraysh, saying: "O assembly of the Quraysh, why should I be killed out of those who are here?"

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "Because of your enmity towards Allah and His Messenger."⁶³

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave instructions for the slain polytheists of the Quraysh to be thrown into the well of Badr, and he stood and cursed them, mentioning [each of] them by name. The exception was Umayyah

63 Editor's note: 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt was perhaps the most wretched of the Prophet's adversaries. His crimes against Islam are numerous, of which is the following:

'Urwah ibn Zubayr once asked 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr: "What was the worst thing you saw happen to the Prophet?" 'Abdullah said: "One day, the Prophet ﷺ was praying in front of the Ka'bah and 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt approached him from behind, took off his outer garment, threw it over the Prophet's neck, and began to choke him. The Prophet ﷺ was struggling to breathe, and no-one was intervening until Abu Bakr ؓ was informed. Abu Bakr ran over and pushed 'Uqbah over and shouted, 'Are you going to kill a man just because he says "My Lord is Allah?"' (Ibn Ishāq, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*, pp. 261-262.)

On another occasion, 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ūd ؓ narrated: "Once, the Prophet ﷺ was praying in front of the Ka'bah when Abū Jahl was sitting with a group. A day prior, a camel had been sacrificed, so Abū Jahl challenged them, 'Who amongst you will go to the carcass of that camel and bring the entrails to dump on Muḥammad?' The worst of them, 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt, stood up and went to the carcass and carried the entrails all the way back to the city. He waited until the Prophet ﷺ was in prostration and dumped it all onto the head of the Prophet ﷺ. The weight of the entrails was so heavy that the Prophet ﷺ could not lift himself back up. People began to laugh so hard that some of them were falling onto their sides and others were smacking themselves out of laughter. I was standing from a distance looking, but I had no help or support [due to my servant status] so I could not do anything. The Prophet ﷺ remained in prostration until somebody went to notify Fāṭimah ؓ. She was a little girl at the time, and she began crying and running towards the Prophet ﷺ, lifting the entrails off him." (Ibn Ishāq, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*, p. 246.)

ibn Khalaf, who was a bulky man that swelled immediately. When they tried to toss him into the well, he burst open. “Leave him”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, whilst addressing them: “Did you find what your Lord promised you to be true?”

Ibn Abi Uways narrated to us: “Ismā’il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah informed us from Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, who said: ‘Nāfi’ said that ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar said that a group from his companions said: “O Messenger of Allah, are you addressing people that are dead?”

“You do not hear what I am saying any better than they do”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned to Medina, entering from Thaniyyāt al-Wadā’. The Qur’an came down, and Allah informed them of His blessing upon them in the expedition of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to Badr towards which they had been reluctant, saying: “Similarly, when your Lord brought you [O Prophet] out of your home for a just cause, a group of believers was totally against it.”⁶⁴ This [was revealed] and three verses with it.

And He said, regarding His response to the Messenger ﷺ and the believers: “[Remember] when you cried out to your Lord for help, He answered, ‘I will reinforce you with a thousand Angels – followed by many others.’”⁶⁵ This [was revealed] and another verse with it.

He revealed, regarding the drowsiness He caused to overcome them as a source of tranquility from Him, when they had been informed about the two parties and started to feel anxious: “[Remember] when He caused drowsiness to overcome you, giving you serenity. And He sent down rain from the sky to purify you, free you from Shayṭān’s whispers, strengthen your hearts, and make [your] steps firm.”⁶⁶

Then, He informed them of what He revealed to the Angels concerning supporting them. He said: “[Remember, O Prophet,] when your Lord revealed to the Angels, ‘I am with you. So, make the believers stand firm’”⁶⁷, until the end of the verse, and the verse after it⁶⁸.

64 *al-Anfāl*, 5.

65 *al-Anfāl*, 9.

66 *al-Anfāl*, 11.

67 *al-Anfāl*, 12.

68 The full text of these verses (*al-Anfāl*, 12-13) reads: “[Remember, O Prophet], when your Lord revealed to the Angels, ‘I am with you. So make the believers stand firm. I will cast horror into the hearts of the disbelievers. So strike their necks and strike their fingertips.’ This is because

He revealed concerning the killing of the polytheists and the handful of pebbles that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ threw, and Allah knows best: “It was not you [believers] who killed them, but it was Allah Who did so. Nor was it you [O Prophet] who threw [a handful of sand at the disbelievers], but it was Allah Who did so, rendering the believers a great favour.”⁶⁹ This verse [was revealed] alongside the verse after it⁷⁰.

He revealed, concerning their seeking victory and the supplication of the believers: “If you [Meccans] sought judgment, now it has come to you.”⁷¹ He said regarding the polytheists: “And if you cease, it will be for your own good.”⁷² This whole verse [was revealed]. Then, He revealed to them: “O believers! Obey Allah and His Messenger”⁷³ alongside seven verses. He revealed, regarding the places where they stopped: “[Remember] when you were on the near side of the valley, your enemy on the far side, and the caravan was below you. Even if the two armies had made an appointment [to meet], both would have certainly missed it. Still, it transpired so Allah may establish what He had destined”⁷⁴, and the verse after it⁷⁵.

In His exhortation to the believers, He revealed: “O believers! When you face an enemy, stand firm.”⁷⁶ This verse [was revealed] as well as the three verses after it⁷⁷. He revealed, quoting what certain Muslims who

they defied Allah and His Messenger. And whoever defies Allah and His Messenger, then Allah is surely severe in punishment.” [IGP-TD]

69 *al-Anfāl*, 17.

70 The full text of these verses (*al-Anfāl*, 17-18) reads: “It was not you who killed them, but it was Allah Who did so. Nor was it you who threw, but it was Allah Who did so, rendering the believers a great favour. Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. As such, Allah frustrates the evil plans of the disbelievers.” [IGP-TD]

71 *al-Anfāl*, 19.

72 *al-Anfāl*, 19.

73 *al-Anfāl*, 20.

74 *al-Anfāl*, 42.

75 The full text of these verses (*al-Anfāl*, 42-43) reads: “When you were on the near side of the valley, your enemy on the far side, and the caravan was below you. Even if the two armies had made an appointment, both would have certainly missed it. Still it transpired so Allah may establish what He had destined – that those who were to perish and those who were to survive might do so after the truth had been made clear to both. Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. When Allah showed them in your dream as few in number. Had He shown them to you as many, you would have certainly faltered and disputed in the matter. But Allah spared you. Surely He knows best what is in the heart.” [IGP-TD]

76 *al-Anfāl*, 45.

77 The full text of these verses (*al-Anfāl*, 45-48) reads: “O believers! When you face an enemy, stand firm and remember Allah often so you may triumph. Obey Allah and His Messenger and do not dispute with one another, or you would be discouraged and weakened. Persevere! Surely Allah is with those who persevere. Do not be like those who left their homes arrogantly, only to

were forced to march out with the polytheists said when they saw the sparsity of the Muslims: “These [believers] are deluded by their faith...”⁷⁸ until the end of the verse⁷⁹. And He revealed, concerning the killing of the polytheists and their followers: “If only you could see when the Angels take the souls of the disbelievers”⁸⁰ until the end of the verse, and eight more verses with it.

Allah [gently] reproached the Prophet ﷺ and the believers for taking captives, disliking the action, namely that he did not subdue the enemy through execution.⁸¹ He said: “It is not fit for a Prophet that he should take captives until he has thoroughly subdued the land. You [believers] settled with the fleeting gains of this world.”⁸² This [whole] verse [was revealed].

Then, He decreed the permissibility of His Prophet ﷺ and the believers benefiting from the spoils of war, which had been impermissible to the nations before them. One of the things narrated from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ – and Allah knows best – is that he said: “The spoils of war were not made permissible for anyone before us, but Allah made them pure (i.e., lawful) for us, on account of that which was preordained for us.”

Allah sent down Revelation concerning His prior decree of the permissibility of war spoils: “Had it not been for a prior decree from Allah, you would have certainly been disciplined with a tremendous punishment for whatever [ransom] you have taken.”⁸³ This verse [was revealed] and the verse after it. Some of the men who were taken prisoner said: “O

be seen by people and to hinder others from Allah's Path. And Allah is Fully Aware of what they do. And when Satan made their deeds appealing to them, and said, 'No one can overcome you today. I am surely by your side.' But when the two forces faced off, he cowered and said, 'I have absolutely nothing to do with you. I certainly see what you do not see. I truly fear Allah, for Allah is severe in punishment.'” [IGP-TD]

78 *al-Anfāl*, 49.

79 The full text of the verse is: “When the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts said, ‘These [believers] are deluded by their faith.’ But whoever puts their trust in Allah, surely Allah is Almighty, All-Wise.” [IGP-TD]

80 *al-Anfāl*, 50.

81 Editor's note: Taking prisoners was later established in the *ṣirah*, but Allah ﷻ conveyed that the most appropriate course of action in this instance was to solidify the position of the Muslims first. Clemency from a position of weakness is not considered merciful; rather, gaining strength and then forgiving is true mercy, which occurs throughout the *ṣirah* once a position of strength was established. Rather than peddling utopian ideals of unrestricted leniency, Islam teaches a pragmatic code of conduct, carefully balancing the notions of mercy and justice. Indeed, many of the freed captives returned once more to fight, killing Muslims in the Battle of Uḥud.

82 *al-Anfāl*, 67.

83 *al-Anfāl*, 68.

Messenger of Allah, we were Muslims and we were forced to come out, so why are ransoms due for us?”

Allah revealed concerning what they were saying: “O Prophet! Tell the captives in your custody, ‘If Allah finds goodness in your hearts, He will give you better than what has been taken from you, and forgive you. For Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.’”⁸⁴

We elucidated the meaning of many Qur’anic verses here, but there are several we have missed, including: “Those who believed, emigrated, and strived”⁸⁵; “When the Angels seize the souls of those who have wronged themselves”⁸⁶; “Those who leave their homes and die while emigrating to Allah and His Messenger”⁸⁷; “There are some who say, ‘We believe in Allah’ but when they suffer in the cause of Allah, they mistake [this] persecution at the hands of people”⁸⁸; and many more.

84 *al-Anfāl*, 70.

85 *al-Anfāl*, 72.

86 *al-Nisā*, 97.

87 *al-Nisā*, 100.

88 *al-Ankabūt*, 10.

THE NAMES OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ WHO PARTICIPATED AT BADR

There were 316⁸⁹ men from the Quraysh and Anṣār who participated at Badr alongside the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and Allah knows best. The participants included:

From the Banū Hāshim ibn ‘Abd Manāf, eight individuals:

- Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, the Chief of the Messengers, Imam of the righteous, Seal of the Prophets, and the one through whom Allah guided them.
- Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb.
- Zayd ibn Ḥārithah.
- Abū Marthad.
- And his son, Marthad. These two were allies of Ḥamzah from the Banū Ghanaī.
- Abū Kabshah, the servant of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.
- Ansaḥ, the servant of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

From the Banū al-Muṭṭalib ibn ‘Abd Manāf, four individuals:

- ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib.
- Al-Ṭufayl ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib.
- Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib.
- Miṣṭah ibn Athāthah ibn ‘Abbād ibn al-Muṭṭalib.

From the Banū ‘Abd Shams, twelve men:

- ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān [ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ]. ‘Uthmān stayed behind to take care of his wife Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, who was unwell. He looked after her until she passed away on the day the slain from Badr were brought back to Medina. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave ‘Uthmān his share [from the war spoils]. “And [will I receive] my reward, O Messenger of Allah?” ‘Uthmān asked. “And your reward”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.
- Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn ‘Utbah ibn Rabī‘ah.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh.
- Sālim, the servant of Abū Ḥudhayfah.

⁸⁹ The number of individuals listed here are 314, which includes the Prophet ﷺ. This would lend credence to the figure of 313 Companions found in al-Tirmidhi’s narration. [IGP-TD]

- Shujā' ibn Wahb al-Asadī.
- 'Uqbah ibn Wahb, the brother of Shujā'.
- Mālik ibn 'Amr,
- And Rabi'ah ibn Aktham, two allies of theirs.
- 'Ukkāshah ibn Miḥṣan.
- Muḥriz ibn Wahb.
- Arbad ibn Ruqaysh.
- Abū Sinān ibn Wahb.
- Sinān ibn Abī Sinān.

From the Banū Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf, two men:

- 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān, an ally of theirs.
- Khabbāb, the servant of 'Utbah [ibn Ghazwān].

From the Banū Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā, three individuals:

- Al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām.
- Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Balta'ah.
- Sa'd, the servant of Ḥāṭib.

From the Banū 'Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy, two men:

- Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr.
- Suwaybiṭ ibn Sa'd.

From the Banū Zuhrah ibn Kilāb, eight individuals:

- 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf.
- Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.
- 'Umayr ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.
- Al-Miqdād ibn al-Aswad, an ally of theirs.
- Dhū al-Shimālayn ibn 'Abd ibn 'Amr ibn Naḍlah, an ally of theirs from [the Banū] Ghubshān.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd ibn Umm 'Abd.
- Mas'ūd ibn Rabi'ah ibn 'Amr ibn ['Abd] al-Qārī, an ally of theirs.
- Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt, an ally of theirs.

From the Banū Taym ibn Murrah, five individuals:

- Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (The Veracious), and his name is 'Abdullāh ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Amr ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Taym.
- 'Āmir ibn Fuhayrah, the servant of Abū Bakr.
- Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān, who was the servant of al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ.

- Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Amr ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Taym came from al-Shām after the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had returned from Badr. He spoke to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ about his share [of the war spoils], to which he said: "You will receive your share." "And my reward, O Messenger of Allah?" he asked. "And your reward", the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.
- Bilāl [ibn Rabāḥ], the [freed] servant of Abū Bakr.

From the Banū Makhzūm ibn Yaqaḥah ibn Murrah:

- Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Asad ibn Hilāl ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Umar ibn Makhzūm.
- Al-Arqam ibn Abī al-Arqam.
- Shammās ibn 'Uthmān ibn al-Sharīd, who was from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Makhzūm.
- 'Ammār ibn Yāsir.
- Mu'attib ibn Ḥamrā', an ally of theirs from the Banū Ka'b.

From the Banū 'Adī ibn Ka'b, thirteen men:

- 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Nufayl ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Riyāḥ ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Qurẓ ibn Razāḥ ibn 'Adī ibn Ka'b.
- Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.
- 'Amr ibn Surāqah.
- 'Āmir ibn Rabī'ah, an ally of theirs.
- Wāqid ibn 'Abdillāh, an ally of theirs from the Banū Ḥanzalah of the Banū Tamīm.
- Khawlī ibn Abī Khawlī, an ally of theirs.
- Mihja', the servant of 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb], from the people of Yemen. He was the first person to be killed, being shot with an arrow.
- Hilāl ibn Abī Khawlī, an ally of theirs.

From the Banū Sa'd ibn Layth:

- 'Āmir ibn al-Bukayr.
- 'Āqil ibn al-Bukayr.
- Iyās ibn al-Bukayr.
- And Khālīd ibn al-Bukayr. [All] allies of theirs.
- Sa'īd ibn Zayd came from al-Shām after the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had returned from Badr. He spoke to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ about his share [of the war spoils], and he told him: "You will receive your share."

“And my reward, O Messenger of Allah?” he asked. “And your reward”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

From the Banū Jumaḥ ibn ‘Amr, four individuals:

- ‘Uthmān ibn Maẓ‘ūn.
- Qudāmah ibn Maẓ‘ūn.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Maẓ‘ūn.
- Ma‘mar ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ma‘mar.

From the Banū Sahm, one man:

- Khunays ibn Ḥudhāfah ibn Qays.

**THE REST OF THE NAMES OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE
MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ WHO PARTICIPATED AT BADR**

From the Banū ‘Āmir ibn Lu’ayy, then the Banū Mālik ibn Ḥisl, eight individuals:

- Abū Sabrah ibn Abī Ruhm.
- Salīṭ ibn ‘Amr.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Makhramah.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Suhayl. They say that he fled that day from his father to [be with] the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.
- ‘Umayr ibn ‘Awf, the servant of Suhayl ibn ‘Amr.
- Wahb ibn Abī Sarḥ.
- Sa’d ibn Khawlah.
- Ḥāṭib ibn ‘Amr.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihrr, six individuals:

- Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ.
- Suhayl ibn Bayḍā’.
- Ṣafwān ibn Bayḍā’.
- ‘Umar (or ‘Amr) ibn Abī Sarḥ.
- ‘Iyāḍ ibn Zuhayr.
- ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥārith.

So, in total, there were eighty men from the Quraysh whom the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave their portion [of the war spoils].

Narrating with his chain of transmission, he said: “Urwah ibn al-Zubayr used to say that al-Zubayr said: ‘Their portions were distributed, and they came to one hundred, and Allah knows best.’”

And From the Anṣār, then the Banū al-Aws, then the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf, there were Forty Men who Participated at Badr, Including:

From the Banū Umayyah ibn Zayd, nine individuals:

- Rifā’ah ibn ‘Abd al-Mundhir.
- Mubashshir ibn ‘Abd al-Mundhir.
- Bashīr ibn ‘Abd al-Mundhir – Abū Lubābah. He left with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ – they say – for Badr, but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent him back and put him in charge of Medina, giving him his due portion along with the rest of the participants of Badr.

- Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Nu'mān.
- 'Uwaym ibn Sā'idah.
- Tha'labah ibn Ḥāṭib.
- His brother, al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥāṭib.
- Rāfi' ibn 'Unjadah.
- 'Ubayd ibn Abī 'Ubayd.

From the Banū Tha'labah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Awf, nine individuals:

- 'Abdullāh ibn Jubayr. He was commander of the Muslim archers at Uhud and was killed.
- 'Āsim ibn Qays.
- Sālim ibn 'Umayr ibn Thābit ibn Kulfah ibn Tha'labah, who was one of the Weepers⁹⁰.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn Nu'mān.
- Nu'mān ibn Abī Khazmah ibn al-Nu'mān.
- Abū Ḍayyāḥ ibn Thābit ibn al-Nu'mān, who was killed at the Battle of Khaybar.
- Abū Ḥabbah ibn 'Amr ibn Thābit ibn al-Nu'mān.
- Khawwāt ibn Jubayr ibn al-Nu'mān. He went out with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ as far as al-Ṣafrā'. There, his leg was injured by a stone blade, so he returned. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him his share.

From the Banū al-'Ajlān, six individuals:

- 'Abdullāh ibn Salimah.
- Zayd ibn Aslam ibn Tha'labah.
- Rib'ī ibn Abī Rib'ī.
- 'Āsim ibn 'Adī. They say he set out with the Messenger ﷺ but was sent back, returning from al-Rawḥā'. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him his share.
- His brother, Ma'n ibn 'Adī.
- Thābit ibn Aqram.

From the Banū Ḍubay'ah ibn Zayd, five individuals:

⁹⁰ Translator's note: Those who wept when they were unable to join the Prophet ﷺ on the expedition to Tabūk.

- 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Qays, also known as Abū Aqlaḥ.
- Mu'attib ibn Qushayr.
- Abū Mulaḃl ibn al-Az'ar.
- 'Umayr ibn Ma'bad ibn al-Az'ar.
- Sahl ibn Ḥunayf ibn Wāhib.

From the Banū 'Ubayd ibn Zayd ibn Mālik:

- Ilyās ibn Qatādah.
- Sālim ibn Ma'qil the servant of Salmā bint Ta'ār, and who was adopted by Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn 'Utbah.

From the Banū Unayf, one man:

- Abū 'Aqil ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Tha'labah.

From the Banū Jaḥjabā ibn Kulfah ibn 'Awf ibn 'Amr ibn 'Awf, one man:

- Al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uqbah ibn Uḥayḥah ibn al-Julāḥ.

From the Banū Ghanm ibn al-Silm ibn Mālik ibn al-Aws, five individuals:

- Sa'd ibn Khaythamah.
- Al-Mundhir ibn Qudāmah.
- Mālik ibn Qudāmah.
- Ibn 'Arfajah.
- Tamīm, a servant of the Banū Ghanm ibn al-Silm.

From the Banū Mu'āwiyah ibn Mālik ibn 'Awf, three individuals:

- Nu'mān ibn 'Iṣr, an ally of theirs from the Balī.
- Mālik ibn Numaylah, an ally of theirs from Muzaynah.
- Jabr ibn 'Atik.

From the Banū Zafar, five individuals:

- Qatādah ibn al-Nu'mān.
- 'Ubayd ibn Aws.
- Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Ṭāriq.
- Mu'attib ibn 'Ubayd, an ally of theirs.

From the Banū Ḥārithah, five individuals:

- Muḥammad ibn Maslamah.
- Salamah ibn Aslam.
- Abū 'Abs ibn Jabr.
- Abū Burdah ibn Niyār, an ally of theirs.
- Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd Sa'd.

From the Banū al-Nabīṭ then the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, thirteen men:

- Sa'd ibn Mu'adh ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Imri' al-Qays.
- His brother, 'Amr ibn Mu'adh.
- Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn Waqsh.
- Salamah ibn Thābit ibn Waqsh.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn Anas ibn Mālik ibn 'Abd Ka'b.
- Sa'd ibn Zayd.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn Aws.
- 'Abbād ibn Bishr ibn Waqsh.
- Rāfi' ibn Sahl. Others said: ibn Yazīd.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn Khazmah ibn 'Adī.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Sahl ibn Rāfi'.
- 'Ubayd ibn al-Tayahān.
- Abū al-Haytham ibn al-Tayahān.

There were in total sixty-six men from Aws who participated at Badr.

And From Khazraj, From the Banū Salimah then the Banū Ḥarām ibn Ka'b, the Following Participated at Badr:

- Khirāsh ibn al-Ṣimmah ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥarām ibn Tha'labah.
- Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥumām ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- Tamīm, the servant of Khirāsh.
- Mu'awwidh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- Mu'adh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir ibn Nābī ibn Zayd ibn Ḥarām.
- Ḥabīb ibn Sa'd, a servant of theirs.
- Khallād ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- Thābit ibn Tha'labah ibn Zayd ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥarām.
- 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Libdah ibn Tha'labah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥarām.

Twelve men.

From the Banū 'Ubayd ibn 'Adī, nineteen men:

- Ma'bad ibn Qays ibn Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarām.
- Bishr ibn al-Barā' ibn Ma'rūr.
- Sinān ibn Ṣayfi ibn Ṣakhr.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Jadd ibn Qays ibn Ṣakhr.
- 'Utbah ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ṣakhr ibn Khansā'.
- Al-Ṭufayl ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Khansā'.
- Al-Ṭufayl ibn Mālik ibn Khansā'.
- Ḥārithah ibn al-Ḥumayyir.
- And 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥumayyir. Two allies of theirs from the Ashja'.
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Nu'mān ibn Sinān.
- Jābir ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ziyād ibn Nu'mān.
- Khulaydah ibn Qays ibn Nu'mān ibn Sinān, a servant of theirs.
- Yazīd ibn al-Mundhir ibn Sarḥ ibn Khunās ibn Sinān.
- Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Ḥārithah ibn Zayd ibn Tha'labah.
- Aswad ibn Rizn ibn Tha'labah ibn Ghanm.
- Ma'qil ibn al-Mundhir ibn Sarḥ.
- 'Abdullāh ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Baldamah.
- Jabbār ibn Ṣakhr.
- Nu'mān ibn Sinān, a servant of theirs.

From the Banū Sawād ibn Ghanm, nine individuals:

- Yazīd ibn 'Āmir ibn Ḥadīdah, also known as Abū al-Mundhir.
- Quṭbah ibn 'Āmir ibn Ḥadīdah.
- Sulaym ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥadīdah.
- 'Antarah ibn 'Amr, his servant.
- 'Absī ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Adī ibn Nābī.
- Tha'labah ibn 'Anamah ibn 'Adī ibn Nābī.
- Abū al-Yasr ibn 'Amr, whose name is Ka'b.
- Sahl ibn Qays ibn Abi Ka'b ibn al-Qayn.
- Mu'adh ibn Jabal.

The total from the Banū Salimah, therefore, was forty men.

The Ones Who Smashed the Deities of the Banū Salimah [Were]:

- Mu'adh ibn Jabal.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Unays.
- Tha'labah ibn 'Anamah.

And they were from the Banū Sawād ibn Ghanm ibn 'Amr ibn 'Ā'idh

ibn 'Adī ibn Ka'b ibn Udayy ibn Sa'd ibn 'Alī ibn Asad ibn Sāridah ibn Tazīd ibn Jusham.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, nineteen men:

- 'Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah ibn Imri' al-Qays.
- Khallād ibn Suwayd ibn Imri' al-Qays.
- Khārijah ibn Zayd ibn Imri' al-Qays.
- Sa'd ibn Rabī' ibn Imri' al-Qays.
- Bashīr ibn Sa'd ibn Tha'labah.
- His brother, Simāk ibn Sa'd ibn Tha'labah.
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Ubays, who left behind no children.
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd Rabb. He was the person who was shown the call to prayer [in a dream].
- 'Ubādah ibn Qays ibn Ka'b ibn Qays.
- Ḥurayth ibn Zayd ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Abd al-Rabb.
- Sufyān ibn Bishr, an ally of theirs.
- Ḥabīb ibn Isāf ibn 'Utbah ibn 'Amr.
- Tamīm ibn Ya'ār ibn Qays ibn 'Adī ibn Umayyah.
- Ibn 'Urfuṭah, 'Abdullāh.
- Zayd ibn al-Mizyan, or al-Muzanī.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Rabī'. It is also said: 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umayr.
- 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥārith.
- Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith, Ibn Fushūm.
- Subay' ibn Qays.

From the Banū Sā'idah ibn Ka'b ibn al-Khazraj, nine individuals:

- Abū Dujānah Simāk ibn Kharashah, the person who took the sword of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ at the Battle of Uḥud.
- And al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr. They were the two chieftains of the Banū Khunays.
- Ka'b ibn Jammāz ibn Tha'labah.
- Abū Usayd Mālik ibn Rabī'ah ibn al-Yadī.
- Mālik ibn Mas'ūd, from the al-Yadī family.
- 'Abd Rabb ibn Ḥaqqī ibn Qawwāl.
- Basbas ibn 'Amr.
- Ziyād ibn al-Akhras ibn 'Amr.
- Ḍamrah, a servant.

From the Banū Zurayq, eighteen men:

- Sa'd ibn 'Uthmān, the father of 'Ubādah ibn Khaldah ibn Mukhallad.
- His brother, 'Uqbah ibn 'Uthmān ibn Khaldah ibn Mukhallad.
- Rāfi' ibn al-Mu'allā ibn Lawdhān.
- His brother, Hilāl ibn al-Mu'allā ibn Lawdhān.
- 'Abbād ibn Qays ibn 'Āmir ibn Khālid.
- Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd ibn Qays ibn Khālid.
- Dhakwān ibn 'Abd Qays ibn Khālid ibn Mukhallad.
- Mas'ūd ibn Khaldah ibn 'Āmir ibn Mukhallad.
- Mu'adh ibn Mā'ish ibn Qays ibn Khaldah.
- 'Āidh ibn Mā'ish ibn Qays ibn Ḥiṣn ibn Khālid ibn Mukhallad.
- Abū Khālid ibn Qays.
- Jubayr ibn Khālid ibn Mukhallad ibn Iyās.
- Fākih ibn Bishr ibn al-Fākih ibn Yazīd.
- As'ad ibn Yazīd ibn al-Fākih ibn Yazīd ibn Khaldah ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Ajlān.
- 'Ubayd ibn Zayd.
- Rifā'ah ibn Rāfi' ibn Mālik ibn 'Ajlān.
- Khallād ibn Rāfi' ibn Mālik ibn 'Ajlān.

From the Banū Bayāḍah, five individuals:

- Ziyād ibn Labīd ibn Tha'labah ibn Sinān.
- Farwah ibn 'Amr ibn Wadhafah.
- Khālid ibn Qays ibn Mālik ibn 'Ajlān.
- Rukhaylah ibn Tha'labah ibn Khālid.
- Khalīfah ibn 'Adī.

From the Banū 'Awf ibn al-Khazraj then the Banū al-Ḥublā, twenty-six men:

- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl.
- Aws ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Khawlī.
- 'Uqbah ibn Wahb ibn Kaladah ibn al-Ja'd, an ally.
- Zayd ibn Wadī'ah ibn 'Amr ibn Qays.
- Rifā'ah ibn 'Amr ibn Zayd ibn 'Amr.
- 'Āmir ibn Salamah ibn 'Āmir, an ally.
- 'Āṣim ibn al-'Ukayr, an ally.
- Ma'bad ibn Qays, Abū Ḥumayḍah ibn al-Fadm ibn Sālim ibn 'Awf.
- 'Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit.

- His brother, Aws ibn al-Šāmit.
- Mālīk ibn al-Dukhsham ibn Mālīk ibn al-Dukhsham ibn Mirḍakhah.
- Nu‘mān ibn Mālīk ibn Tha‘labah. (Tha‘labah was also known as Qawqal.) Nu‘mān was the one who made the statement at the Battle of Uḥud.⁹¹
- Al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād ibn ‘Amr ibn Zamzamah.
- ‘Abbād ibn al-Khashkhāsh ibn ‘Amr ibn Zamzamah.
- Baḥḥāth ibn Tha‘labah ibn Khazmah ibn Ašram.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Tha‘labah ibn Khazmah ibn Ašram.
- ‘Utbah ibn Rabī‘ah, an ally of theirs from Bahrā’.
- ‘Itbān ibn Mālīk ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Ajlān.
- ‘Išmah ibn al-Ḥuṣayn.
- Mulayl ibn Wabrah ibn ‘Ajlān.
- Rabī‘ ibn Iyās.
- Nawfal ibn Tha‘labah ibn ‘Abdillāh.
- ‘Amr ibn Iyās, an ally.
- Thābit ibn Hazzāl ibn ‘Amr.
- Waraqah ibn Iyās ibn ‘Amr ibn Ghanm.
- Thābit ibn Rabī‘. There is some doubt regarding him [participating in Badr].

From the Banū al-Najjār, fifty-two men:

From them, from the Banū Mālīk ibn al-Najjār:

- Abū Ayyūb Khālīd ibn Zayd ibn Kulayb.
- Thābit ibn Khālīd ibn al-Nu‘mān ibn Khansā’.
- ‘Umārah ibn Ḥazm ibn Zayd ibn Lawdhān.
- Surāqah ibn Ka‘b ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, who left no descendants.
- Mas‘ūd ibn Aws ibn Yazīd ibn Ašram.
- His brother, Khuzaymah ibn Aws.
- Rāfi‘ ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sawād.
- Ḥārithah ibn al-Nu‘mān, the one who passed by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ whilst he was with Jibrīl ﷺ at the *maqā‘id*⁹².
- Sulaym ibn Qays ibn Qahd.

91 Translator’s note: Nu‘mān prayed: “O Allah, let the Sun not set until I walk in the greenery of Paradise with this limp of mine.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “He had a certain opinion regarding Allah and found Him accordingly. I saw him walking in its greenery without any limp.”

92 Translator’s note: A place in Medina. Some say: shops near the house of ‘Uthmān ؓ.

- ‘Adī ibn Abī al-Zaghbā’, an ally of theirs from the Juhaynah and the one whom the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent as a spy to the trade caravan of Abū Sufyān.
- Suhayl ibn Rāfi‘ ibn Abī ‘Amr. He and his brother took residence in the Mosque of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.
- Mu‘awwidh ibn ‘Afrā’.
- And ‘Awf ibn ‘Afrā’, both of whom left no descendants.
- Mu‘adh ibn ‘Afrā’. ‘Afrā’ was their mother, and she was the daughter of ‘Ubayd ibn Tha‘labah. They are the sons of al-Ḥārith ibn Tha‘labah.
- Nu‘aymān ibn ‘Amr ibn Rifā‘ah, who left no descendants.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Qays ibn Khaldah, who left no descendants.
- ‘Āmir ibn Makhlad ibn al-Ḥārith, who left no descendants.
- Thābit ibn ‘Amr ibn Zayd ibn ‘Adī.
- Wadī‘ah ibn ‘Amr, an ally of theirs from the Juhaynah.

Nineteen men.

- Ubayy ibn Ka‘b.
- Anas ibn Mu‘adh ibn Anas ibn Qays, who left no descendants.
- Aws ibn Thābit ibn al-Mundhir, who left no descendants.
- Abū Shaykh ibn Thābit ibn al-Mundhir, who left no descendants.
- Abū Ṭalḥah Zayd ibn Sahl.

Five individuals.

- Tha‘labah ibn ‘Amr ibn Miḥṣan.
- Sahl ibn ‘Atīk ibn al-Nu‘mān, who left no descendants.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ṣimmah ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Atīk. He was injured at al-Rawḥā’, and so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him his share.

Three individuals.

From the Banū ‘Adī ibn al-Najjār, twelve men:

- Ḥārithah ibn Surāqah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Adī, who left no descendants.
- ‘Amr ibn Tha‘labah ibn Wahb ibn ‘Adī, who left no descendants. His *kunyah* (teknonym) was Abū Ḥukaymah. Others said: Abū Ḥakīm.
- Salīṭ ibn Qays ibn ‘Amr, who left no descendants.
- Abū Zayd Qays ibn Sakan ibn Qays ibn Za‘ūrā’, who left no

descendants. He was killed at the Battle of the Bridge of Abū 'Ubayd.

- Abū al-A'war ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim, who left no descendants.
- Abū Salīṭ, whose name is Usayrah ibn 'Amr.
- Thābit ibn Khansā' ibn 'Amr, who left no descendants.
- 'Āmir ibn Umayyah ibn Zayd ibn al-Ḥashās, who left no descendants.
- Sawād ibn Ghaziyyah.
- Sulaym ibn Milḥān ibn Khaldah.
- And his brother, Ḥarām ibn Milḥān, and Milḥān's name is Mālik. They both left no descendants.

From the Banū Māzin ibn al-Najjār, six individuals:

- Qays ibn Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah. Ṣa'ṣa'ah's name is 'Amr ibn Zayd.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Ka'b ibn 'Amr.
- 'Uṣaymah, an ally of theirs from Asad ibn Khuzaymah.
- Qays ibn Makhlad ibn Tha'labah.
- 'Umayr ibn 'Āmir ibn Mālik. His *kunyah* is Abū Dāwūd.
- Surāqah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Aṭiyyah ibn Khansā'.

From the Banū Dīnār ibn al-Najjār, seven individuals:

- Al-Nu'mān ibn 'Abd 'Amr ibn Mas'ūd.
- And his brother, al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Abd 'Amr. They both left no descendants.
- Sulaym ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Tha'labah ibn Ka'b, their uterine brother.
- Jābir ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd al-Ashhal, who left no descendants.
- Ka'b ibn Zayd ibn Qays ibn Mālik.
- Sa'īd ibn Sahl ibn 'Abd al-Ashhal.
- Bujayr ibn Abī Bujayr, an ally of theirs.

The total from the Banū al-Najjār, therefore, was fifty-two men.

A poet said that day:

“O Lord, indeed al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ṣimmah
is a loyal person and is true to his pact with us.
He set forth into misfortunate, vast lands,
on a dark, pitch-black night.
He was leading the Prophet, the guide of this nation,
seeking Paradise in what lies there.”

Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ Who Were Killed at the Battle of Badr:

From Quraysh:

- 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib. He was slain by Shaybah ibn Rabī'ah. His leg was cut off and he died at al-Ṣafrā'.

From the Banū Zuhrah, two men:

- 'Umayr ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.
- Dhū al-Shimālayn ibn 'Abd 'Amr ibn Naḍlah, an ally of theirs from Khuzā'ah, from the Banū Ghubshān.

From the Banū 'Adī ibn Ka'b, two men:

- Mihja', the servant of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He was the first Muslim killed that day, shot with an arrow.
- 'Āqil ibn al-Bukayr, an ally of theirs from the Banū Sa'd ibn Layth.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihri:

- Ṣafwān ibn Bayḍā'.

The total martyred from the Quraysh at the Battle of Badr, therefore, were six men.

Those of the Anṣār From the Companions of the Messenger ﷺ Who Were Killed:

From the Banū al-Najjār, from the Banū 'Adī ibn al-Najjār:

- Ḥārithah ibn Surāqah ibn al-Ḥārith.

From the Banū Ghanm, two men:

- Mu'awwidh.
- Mu'adh ibn 'Afrā'. They were both sons of al-Ḥārith.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj:

- Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith, who was known as Ibn Fuṣḥum. He was the son of Qays ibn Mālīk ibn Aḥmar.

From the Banū Salimah then the Banū Ḥarām:

- 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥumām ibn al-Jamūḥ.

From the Banū Zurayq:

- Rāfi' ibn al-Mu'allā ibn Lawdhān.

From the Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf then the Banū Ghanm ibn al-Silm:

- Sa'd ibn Khaythamah.

From the Banū Umayyah ibn Zayd:

- Mubashshir ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir ibn Rifā'ah.

The total slain from the Anṣār at the Battle of Badr, therefore, were eight individuals.

- the Banū Zurayq contend that Mu'ādh ibn Mā'ish was wounded [at Badr] and died from his wound.
- 'Ubayd ibn Zayd was ill and died when he arrived at [Badr].

The Polytheists Who Were Killed at the Battle of Badr:

From the Banū 'Abd Shams, twelve men:

- Ḥanzalah ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Ḥarb.
- 'Ubaydah ibn Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ. He was killed by al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām.
- Al-'Āṣ ibn Sa'id. He was killed by Ibn 'Afrā'.
- 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Shams. He was killed by Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- Shaybah ibn Rabī'ah. He was killed by 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib.
- Al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah. He was killed by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.
- 'Uqbah ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ. He was killed by 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī al-Aqlaḥ.
- 'Āmir ibn al-Ḥaḍramī.
- His nephew, the son of 'Amr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī.
- 'Anbar ibn Abī 'Umayr, a servant of theirs.
- His son.
- A man from the Banū Anmār [who was] an ally of al-'Āṣ.

From the Banū Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf, two men:

- Al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal.
- Ṭu'aymah ibn 'Adī ibn Nawfal.

From the Banū Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn Quṣayy ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah, five individuals:

- Zam‘ah ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib.
- His son, al-Ḥārith ibn Zam‘ah.
- ‘Aqīl ibn al-Aswad.
- Abū al-Bakhtarī, who is al-‘Āṣ ibn Hāshim ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Asad. He was killed by al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād al-Anṣārī of the Banū Sālim.
- Nawfal ibn Khuwaylid, who was the son of al-‘Adawiyyah from ‘Adī of Khuzā‘ah. He was killed by ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

From the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy, two men:

- Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Alqamah ibn Kaladah ibn ‘Abd al-Dār.
- Zayd ibn Mulaṣ al-Yamānī, a servant of ‘Umayr ibn Hāshim.

From the Banū Murrah, two men:

- ‘Umayr ibn ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Amr.
- ‘Uthmān ibn Mālik ibn ‘Ubaydillāh ibn ‘Uthmān. He was killed by Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān.

From the Banū Makhzūm ibn Yaqaṣah, sixteen men:

- Abū Jahl ibn Hishām. Some assert that Mu‘ādh ibn ‘Afrā’ killed him, whilst others say it was Ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- His brother, al-‘Āṣ ibn Hishām. He was killed by ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.
- Al-Aswad ibn ‘Abd al-Asad ibn Hilāl. He was killed by Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- Mas‘ūd ibn Abī Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Abū Qays ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Abū Qays ibn al-Fākih ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Al-Mundhir ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Ā’idh.
- Rifā‘ah ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Ā’idh.
- Zuhayr ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Ā’idh.
- Ḥājiz ibn al-Sā’ib.
- Al-Sā’ib ibn Ṣayfi ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Ā’idh.
- Abū Musāfi‘ al-Ash‘arī.
- Ḥarmalah ibn ‘Amr ibn Abī ‘Aybah, an ally of theirs.
- Sufyān and ‘Amr, two allies of theirs.
- Yazīd ibn ‘Abdillāh, an ally of theirs from the Banū Tamīm.

From the Banū Sahm, five individuals:

- Munabbih ibn al-Ḥajjāj.
- His son, al-‘Āṣ.
- Nubayh ibn al-Ḥajjāj.
- ‘Āṣim ibn Abī ‘Awf ibn Ṣubayrah.
- Abū al-‘Āṣ ibn Sa‘īd ibn Sahm.

From the Banū Jumaḥ, three individuals:

- Umayyah ibn Khālīd ibn Wahb. He was killed by a man from the Anṣār hailing from the Banū Māzin.
- His son, ‘Alī ibn Umayyah. He was killed by ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir.
- Aws ibn Mu‘ammar, a servant of Ḥudhāfah.

From the Banū ‘Āmir ibn Lu‘ayy, two men [who were] allies of theirs:

- Mu‘āwiyah ibn ‘Abd al-Qays. One of their women, the daughter of Umayyah, was married to him.
- Ma‘bad ibn Wahb, a man from Kalb ibn ‘Awf ibn ‘Āmir ibn Layth.

The total number of polytheists who were killed at the Battle of Badr, therefore, was forty-nine⁹³.

Polytheists Who Were Taken Prisoner at the Battle of Badr:

From the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, five individuals:

- ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib.
- Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- Al-Sā‘ib ibn ‘Abd Yazīd.
- Nu‘mān ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Uqbah ibn al-Muṭṭalib.

93 Al-Barā’ ibn ‘Āzib ؓ transmitted in a hadith narrated by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim, “His (i.e., the Prophet’s) Companions overcame 140 on the day of Badr: 70 were killed and 70 were taken as captives.” Ibn Ḥajar mentions in *Fath al-Bārī* that most authors of the *maghāzī* literature place the number between 40 and 50, while many of the authors writing in the *ṣīrah* genre place it at somewhere between 50 and 60. However, he considers al-Barā’ ibn ‘Āzib’s statement to be the correct number. Furthermore, he mentions that Ibn ‘Abbās ؓ agreed with him in the hadith related in Muslim regarding the same topic. He also contends that the numbers provided are based on the people who are named, while there is nothing to preclude the possibility that there some figures who were killed and went unnamed. (Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Aṣqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*, explanation of hadith no. 3986) [IGP-TD]

From the Banū ‘Abd Shams ibn ‘Abd Manāf, five individuals:

- Al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Wajrah.
- Abū al-‘Āṣ ibn al-Rabī‘ ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn ‘Abd Shams.
- Abū al-‘Āṣ ibn Nawfal ibn ‘Abd Shams.
- Abū Rashīyyah ibn Abī ‘Amr.
- ‘Amr ibn al-Azraq, an ally of theirs.

From the Banū Nawfal ibn ‘Abd Manāf, three individuals:

- ‘Adī ibn al-Khiyār ibn ‘Adī ibn Nawfal.
- ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abd Shams, the son of ‘Utbah ibn Ghazwān’s paternal uncle.
- Abū Thawr ibn ‘Āmir.

From the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy, two men:

- Abū ‘Azīz ibn ‘Umayr ibn Hāshim.
- Al-Aswad ibn ‘Āmir, an ally of theirs. They continue: ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Sabbāq ibn ‘Abd al-Dār.

From the Banū Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn Quṣayy, three individuals:

- Al-Sā’ib ibn Abī Ḥubaysh ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Ubād ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Asad.
- Sālim ibn Shammākh, an ally.

From the Banū Makhzūm ibn Yaqaṣah, nine individuals:

- Khālīd ibn Hishām ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Umayyah ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Al-Walīd ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah.
- ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Ṣayfī ibn Abī Rabī‘ah ibn ‘Ābid.
- Abū al-Mundhir ibn Abī Rifā‘ah.
- ‘Abdullāh, who is Abū ‘Aṭā ibn Abī al-Sā’ib ibn ‘Ābid.
- Al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥanṭab ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Ubayd.
- Khālīd ibn al-A‘lam, an ally of theirs. He was the person who said [the following verses of poetry]:

“Our wounds do not bleed onto our backs,
rather the blood drips down our fronts.”

From the Banū Sahm ibn ‘Amr, four individuals:

- Abū Wadā‘ah ibn Šubayrah ibn Sa‘īd ibn Sahm. He was the first of the prisoners of Badr to be ransomed, with his son al-Muṭṭalib paying his ransom.
- Farwah ibn Qays ibn Ḥudhāfah ibn Sa‘d ibn Sahm.
- Ḥanzalah ibn Qabiṣah ibn Ḥudhāfah ibn Sa‘d ibn Sahm.
- Al-Ḥajjāj ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Qays ibn Sa‘d ibn Sahm.

From the Banū Jumaḥ ibn ‘Amr, five individuals:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Khalaf.
- Abū ‘Azzah ibn ‘Abdillāh. He was the person who said:

“Did they not convey to the Messenger Muḥammad from me:
You are, upon what you say, firm and persevering,
You are one who calls to righteousness and virtue,
May Allah, Most Forbearing, be a witness over you.
But whenever I remember the people of Badr,
Sorrow keeps returning to my heart.
The Exalted is elevated above His Lofty Throne,
For Him is whatever new or old matter He wishes.
The one whom you wage war against will be defeated,
Miserable; and the one whom you make prosperous is prosperous
indeed.”

The Muslims tried hard to convince him to accept Islam, but he refused, saying: “No, not until I strike the Khazrajīs all day and night.”

- ‘Umayr ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb.
- Rabī‘ah ibn Darrāj.
- Al-Fākih, a servant of Umayyah ibn Khalaf.

From the Banū ‘Āmir ibn Lu‘ayy then the Banū Mālik ibn Ḥisl:

- Suhayl ibn ‘Amr.
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mashnū ibn Waqdān.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Zam‘ah.

A group of them ransomed Suhayl.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihr:

- Al-Ṭufayl ibn Qubay‘ ibn Ḥaydham. Others said: ibn Qunay‘ ibn Jaḥdam.

The total number of polytheists from the Quraysh who were taken prisoner that day, therefore, was thirty-nine⁹⁴.

Their ransom was forty ūqīyyahs of gold. They were ransomed after arriving in Medina, and their [individual] ransoms differed.

Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said: "I shot Suhayl ibn 'Amr that day and severed his sciatic nerve. I followed the stream of blood until I found that a man from the Anṣār had taken him. I said: 'He is my prisoner; I shot him.' The Anṣārī said: 'He is my prisoner; I seized him.'"

They went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and he took him off them both.

They say that Suhayl escaped at Rawḥā'. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "Whoever finds Suhayl should kill him." [However,] the Messenger of Allah ﷺ found him but did not kill him.

They also state that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb used to say to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: "Have Suhayl killed, or [at least] remove his two front teeth so that his speech becomes incoherent."

[However,] the Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not kill him, saying: "Perhaps Allah will strengthen Islam through him one day."

They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ felt the pangs of hunger during the night several times. Once, he was kept up by the hunger of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to such an extent that he could not sleep. His Companions said: "You stayed up last night, O Messenger of Allah."

"I was kept up by the tightness of the chains on 'Abbās and his writhing with hunger that I heard", he replied, so they loosened them. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ was merciful – may Allah send blessings and peace upon him, as well as the Angels and all humankind, and they certainly have done.

Al-Qāsim narrated to us from Ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqbah, from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah:

Ibn Shihāb said: "Anas ibn Mālik narrated to me that people from the Anṣār sought permission from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, saying: 'Permit us, O Messenger of Allah, to leave the ransom for your cousin 'Abbās.'

'No, by Allah, you will not leave a single dirham,' he replied.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned to Medina from Badr, accompanied by the captives and spoils of war, and with Allah having

94 Refer to the previous footnote. [IGP-TD]

killed the chiefs of the polytheists at Badr, the people met him at al-Rawḥā' and began congratulating him and the Muslims on the victory and asking whom from the polytheists had been killed.

Salamah ibn Salāmah, one of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, said: 'We did not kill anyone of repute; we only killed bald, aging men.'

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ approached him, but all the while gave him the cold shoulder whilst they were heading out, when he said to the Bedouin [what he said] when he heard him speaking obscenely to him. On his return, he heard him say: 'We only killed bald, aging men', upon which the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to him: 'They, Cousin, are the elite.'

When the vanquished polytheists returned to Mecca, with Allah having killed from amongst them those whom He had killed, 'Umayr ibn Wahb al-Jumaḥī went and sat by Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah in the Ḥijr. Ṣafwān said: 'Allah has made life miserable after the slain of Badr.'

'Yes', he replied. 'By Allah, there is nothing good in life after them. If it were not for the debt I owe that I have no way of paying off and my children for whom I have nothing to leave, I would ride to Muḥammad and kill him if I were to get a good look at him, for I have an excuse that I can use. I will say: "I have come to this captive son of mine."'

Ṣafwān was delighted by his words and said: 'I will deal with your debt, and I will spend on your children equally to my own. They will not be deprived of anything I am able to give.'

Ṣafwān then provided him with a mount and provisions, and ordered for 'Umayr's sword to be burnished and poisoned. 'Umayr said to Ṣafwān: 'Keep it a secret for me for a few days.'

'Umayr approached Medina and dismounted at the entrance of the mosque. He tied his mount, grasped his sword, and set out for the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was with a group of the Anṣār, talking about the event of Badr and remembering the Blessing of Allah ﷻ therein. When 'Umar saw him with the sword, he was alarmed, and said: 'The dog is amongst you. This is the enemy of Allah who sowed dissension amongst us on the day of Badr and estimated our numbers for the enemy.' Then, 'Umar stood up, went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and said: 'That 'Umayr ibn Wahb has entered the mosque carrying a sword. He is an evil-doer and deceiver, O Prophet of Allah. Do not trust him with anything.'

'Bring him to me', the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

'Umar left. He instructed his companions to go to the Messenger of

Allah ﷻ and then guard him from 'Umayr if he came to them.

'Umar and 'Umayr both came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ [at the same time], with 'Umayr carrying his sword with him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to 'Umar: 'Step back from him.'

'Umayr approached. '*An'im ṣabāhā* (good morning)', he said, which was a greeting of the people of Jāhiliyyah.

'Allah has honoured us above using your greeting and made our greeting the greeting of the people of Paradise, which is the *salām* (i.e., *al-salām 'alaykum* – peace be upon you)', the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

'Your usage of it is quite recent', 'Umayr said.

'Allah has given us something better than it', the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied. 'What brings you here, O 'Umayr?' he asked.

'I have come concerning my captive with you', 'Umayr said. 'Negotiate with us regarding our captives, for you are the [same] tribe and roots.'

'So why is there a sword hanging from your neck?' the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

'May Allah disfigure these swords! Have they availed us in any way?'

'Umayr said. 'I forgot it and left it around my neck when I dismounted. I swear on my life, I have no other concern.'

'Tell me the truth. What brings you?' the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

'I swear on my life, I only came concerning my captive', 'Umayr replied.

'What did you stipulate to Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah in the Hījr?' the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

'Umayr was shocked. 'What did I stipulate to him?' he said.

'You committed to killing me in exchange for him caring for your children and paying off your debt, but Allah came between you and that', the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

'Umayr said: 'I bear witness that you are the Messenger of Allah, and I bear witness that there is no deity [worthy of worship] except Allah. O Messenger of Allah, we used to deny the Revelation and that which you brought from the Heavens, but this conversation was between me and Ṣafwān in the Hījr' – [just] as the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had articulated – 'No-one other than me and him was aware of it, so Allah [must have] informed you of it. So, I affirm my faith in Allah and His Messenger ﷺ. All praise is for Allah Who led me to this destination.'

When Allah Exalted guided him, the Muslims were overjoyed. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'By the One in Whose Hand is my soul, pigs were more beloved to me than 'Umayr when he appeared, but today he is more

beloved to me than some of my own children.'

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: 'Sit, O 'Umayr, so that we can comfort you.'

And the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to his Companions: 'Teach your brother the Qur'an.'

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ [also] freed his captive for him.

'Umayr said: 'O Messenger of Allah, I was striving to the best of my ability to extinguish the Light of Allah. All praise and gratitude is for Allah Who led me to this destination and guided me. Permit me to meet up with the Quraysh and call them to Allah and to Islam. Perhaps Allah will guide them and save them from destruction.' The Messenger ﷺ thus gave him permission and he went to Mecca.

Şafwān ibn Umayyah began saying to the Quraysh: 'Glad tidings of a victory that will make you forget what occurred at Badr!' He started asking every caravan that arrived from Medina if anything had happened there, hoping to hear about what 'Umayr had told him [he would do]. Eventually, a man arrived from Medina, and so Şafwān asked him about 'Umayr.

'He has embraced Islam', the man said.

The polytheists cursed him, saying: 'He has apostatized!'

Şafwān said: 'I vow to Allah never to assist him in any way, nor to ever utter a word to him from my mouth again!'

'Umayr arrived and invited them to Islam, sincerely advising them as best as he could, and many people embraced Islam as a result.

None of the polytheists of the Banū Zuhrah participated at Badr, for they were sent back by al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq from al-Juḥfah. Likewise, no-one from the Banū 'Adī ibn Ka'b participated.

When Allah killed the nobles and chiefs of the polytheists, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb vowed that he would neither oil or wash his hair nor be intimate with his wife until he had waged war on Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and torched various parts of Medina.

He set off from Mecca covertly and fearfully with thirty horses – some say it was more than that – to fulfil his vow. He dismounted at one of the mountains of Medina called Yatīb, where he dispatched one or two of his men, instructing them to burn the first date palms of Medina they came across.

They found some roots from the date palms of al-'Urayḍ and burnt them, and Abū Sufyān and his companions fled hastily towards Mecca.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions pursued them as far

as Qarqarah al-Kudr, but they were unable to catch any of them, so they returned.”

THE BATTLE OF THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ AGAINST THE GHATAFĀN

The Messenger ﷺ set out to fight the Ghatafān⁹⁵. ‘Awf ibn al-Hārith, a warrior, met him, took hold of his sword, and said: “Who will protect you from me, O Muḥammad?” “Allah”, he replied: “so throw down the sword from your hand.” The sword fell from his hand. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “O Allah, protect me from ‘Awf with whatever You wish.” Suddenly, ‘Awf was struck with a debilitating pain between his shoulders and fell dead. It is said that this was the Expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā’⁹⁶. In it, as they mention, the prayer was shortened, and Allah knows best. Allah ﷻ says in His Book: “When you travel through the land, it is permissible for you to shorten the prayer – [especially] if you fear an attack by the disbelievers. Indeed, the disbelievers are your sworn enemies.”⁹⁷ We do not know when this battle was – whether it was before or after Badr, or between Badr and Uḥud, or after Uḥud⁹⁸.

THE PROPHET ﷺ SENDING ‘ABDULLĀH IBN UNAYS TO SUFYĀN IBN ‘ABDILLĀH AL-HUDHALĪ

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays⁹⁹ to Sufyān ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī al-Laḥyānī¹⁰⁰, who was in ‘Uranah (or

95 The Ghatafān consisted of a confederation of Bedouin Arab tribes. They were based northeast of Medina. The main branches of this major umbrella group included the Banū Abs, Banū Dhubayn, and Ashja’. They allied with the Quraysh during the Battle of the Trench. [IGP-TD]

96 Later *sīrah* works and specialists confirm that the aforementioned story happened at the battle of Dhāt al-Riqā’.

97 *al-Nisā’*, 101. [IGP-TD]

98 Since the Prophet ﷺ performed the Prayer of Fear (Ṣalāh al-Khawf) during the battle of Dhāt al-Riqā’, and the verse in question was sent down during the expedition of Banū Naḍir, *sīrah* specialists have confirmed that the most correct opinion is that this occurred after Uḥud. (*al-Raḥīq al-Makhtūm*). [IGP-TD]

99 ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays al-Juhānī was one of the allies of the Anṣār. He narrated twenty-four Prophetic hadiths. He passed away in the year 54 AH during the reign of Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. [IGP-TD]

100 In most reports, the one who was killed was Sufyān’s son, namely Khālid ibn Sufyān ibn Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī. Al-Bayhaqī narrates in *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwah*, “Imam Aḥmad said (with the *isnād*

‘Arafah), behind Mecca, and to whom people had flocked so that he could use them to attack the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He ordered him (i.e., ‘Abdullāh) to kill him. ‘Abdullāh asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: “What does he look like, O Messenger of Allah?” “When you see him, you will be frightened by him and filled with terror”, he said. “I have never been frightened by anything!” ‘Abdullāh replied. He then went on his way, discreetly gaining access through people and claiming to be from Khuẓā‘ah¹⁰¹, and informing whomever he met that he wished to see Sufyān in order to join him. He met Sufyān whilst he was walking in the heart of ‘Uranah, with the Ethiopians from the residents of Mecca behind him. ‘Abdullāh said: “When I saw him, I was frightened by him and filled with terror. I said [to myself]: ‘Allah and His Messenger ﷺ spoke the truth.’ I lay in wait for him and then, when the people retired, I caught him by surprise and killed him.” They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was informed of his killing before ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays returned. They also mention, and Allah knows best, that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him a staff and said: “Take it in your hand”, or he said: “Hold on to it.” It thus remained in his possession, they say, until he instructed for it to be placed inside his shroud, between his skin and his garment. It is not known from where the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Ibn Unays to Ibn Nubayḥ: was it from Medina, or from elsewhere?

THE UNIT OF ‘ABDULLĀH IBN RAWĀḤAH THAT WAS SENT TO KHAYBAR

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ dispatched ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah¹⁰²

omitted for brevity), ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays said, “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ summoned me and said, ‘It has reached me that Khālid ibn Sufyān ibn Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī is gathering people against me in order to fight me. He is in ‘Uranah. So go to him and kill him.’” The rest of the report is as related in the main text. [IGP-TD]

101 Banū Khuẓā‘ah is an Azdī Qaḥṭānī tribe. They ruled Mecca for almost 400 years before the time of the Prophet ﷺ. [IGP-TD]

102 ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah ibn Tha‘labah ibn Imri’ al-Qays ibn ‘Amr ibn Imri’ al-Qays ibn Mālik al-Agharr ibn Tha‘labah ibn Ka‘b ibn al-Khazraj ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, the famous poet. His epithet was Abū Muḥammad. He was one of the representatives on the night of al-‘Aqabah. He was also present at Badr and all the other campaigns until he was martyred at the Battle of Mu‘tah in the 8th year after the Hijrah. He is reported to have enjoyed nobility both in the ages of Jāhiliyyah and Islam; after he entered Islam, he opposed the disbelieving poets by lampooning the enemies of the Prophet ﷺ and extolling the Prophet ﷺ and the believers. [IGP-TD]

accompanied by thirty riders, including ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays, to [confront] the Jewish man, al-Yusayr ibn Rizām in Khaybar. News had reached the Messenger of Allah ﷺ that al-Yusayr had assembled the Ghaṭafān with the intention of using them to launch an offensive against him. So, they went to him and said: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has sent us to you to put you in charge of Khaybar.” They continued persuading him until he joined them with thirty men, each of whom took a Muslim on the back of their animal. However, when they reached Qarqarah Thibār, which was six miles from Khaybar, a Jewish man, al-Yusayr ibn Rizām stood up and attempted to reach for the sword of ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays, but ‘Abdullāh perceived that and pulled back his camel. Then, he pushed on, driving the people forward until he was able to reach al-Yusayr and struck and severed his leg. Al-Yusayr leapt forward, holding a wooden *shawḥaṭ*¹⁰³ stick, and struck ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays’ face, leaving a deep wound. Every Muslim man turned on the person they were riding with and killed them, except one Jewish man they were unable to capture. No-one was killed from the Muslims.

They returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He spat onto ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays’ wound, such that it did not become infected or cause him pain until he passed away.

THE UNIT OF ḤAMZAH IBN ‘ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB THAT WAS SENT TO SĪF AL-BAḤR¹⁰⁴

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ dispatched Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib with thirty riders. They reached close to Sīf al-Baḥr, in the direction of al-Jār in the territory of Juḥaynah. There, they met Abū Jahl ibn Hishām, accompanied by 130 riders of the Quraysh. Majdī ibn ‘Amr al-Juhanī, who was a trustee for both sides, came between them.

103 Translator’s note: A certain mountainous tree whose wood is used to make sticks.

104 Translator’s note: A coastal area.

THE STORY OF 'ĀṢIM, KHUBAYB, AND ZAYD IBN AL-DATHINAH

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī al-Aqlaḥ¹⁰⁵ of the Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf and Marthad ibn Abī Marthad¹⁰⁶, along with a group of their companions, which included Khubayb ibn 'Adī¹⁰⁷ of the Banū Jaḥjabā¹⁰⁸ and Zayd ibn al-Dathinah¹⁰⁹ of the Banū Bayāḍah¹¹⁰, as spies to the people of Mecca to obtain information on the disbelievers of the Quraysh. They travelled through the Najd until they reached al-Rajī', between Ruhāt and Mecca, where they were confronted by the Banū Liḥyān¹¹¹ [clan] of Hudhayl.

'Āṣim ibn Thābit fought with his sword until he was killed. He said:

“What is my excuse whilst I am strong and brave,
and the string of my bow is thick,
with mighty arrows being fired from it?
You lead the people but do not go out to fight?!
Death is true and life is finite.”

Khubayb and Zayd ibn al-Dathinah ascended into the mountains and the enemy were unable to catch them. Eventually, they promised them and gave them assurance that they would not kill them. So, they came down to them, but were immediately tied in chains.

Before he was seized, Khubayb recited whilst firing arrows at the enemy:

105 'Āṣim ibn Abī al-Aqlaḥ. He was one of the very first members of the Anṣār to enter Islam. [IGP-TD]

106 Marthad ibn Abī Marthad. He and his father, namely Kannāz, were both Companions and the two of them participated in Badr. [IGP-TD]

107 Khubayb ibn 'Adī ibn Mālik ibn 'Āmir ibn Jujda'ah ibn Jaḥjabay. He was present at the Battle of Badr. [IGP-TD]

108 They are better known as Banū Kalafah ibn 'Awf ibn 'Amr ibn 'Awf ibn Mālik ibn Aws. They are one of the branches of the Anṣārī Aws clan. [IGP-TD]

109 Zayd ibn al-Dathinah ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ubayd ibn 'Āmir ibn Bayāḍah al-Anṣārī al-Bayādī. He was one of the participants at the Battle of Badr. [IGP-TD]

110 A branch of the Khazraj tribe. [IGP-TD]

111 A federation of Qaḥṭānī tribes that were located in the Najd region. The polytheists of Mecca bribed them, intending to seek revenge for the death of Khālid ibn Sufyān, whose assassination was previously mentioned. The remaining portion of the story is recounted in the text. [IGP-TD]

“[I am] Abū Sulaymān with arrows fletched by Muq‘ad¹¹²,
Wrapped in the smooth hide of a fine ox,
with a sharp, shiny, Indian sword,
a believer in what my Muḥammad recites!
With wooden arrows like a burning fire;
When the standard bearers are killed, I am not afraid.”

The following people were killed that day:
From the Banū Hāshim:

- Marthad ibn Abī Marthad.

From the Anṣār:

- ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit. His body was protected by the current.

From the Banū Zafar:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṭāriq, an ally of theirs from the Balī.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj then the Banū Ghuḍaybah:

- Mu‘attib ibn ‘Awf ibn Khālid. Others said: ibn Aws.

Khubayb ibn ‘Adī and Zayd ibn al-Dathinah were taken prisoner, and the Banū Liḥyān took them back to Mecca, where they sold them to the Quraysh.

Khubayb was purchased by ‘Uqbah ibn al-Ḥārith. Khubayb had killed his father, al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal, at the Battle of Badr.

They say that Khubayb’s purchase also received the contributions of Abū Ihāb ibn ‘Azīz, ‘Ikrimah ibn Abī Jahl, al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq, ‘Ubaydah ibn Ḥakīm ibn al-Awqaṣ, Umayyah ibn Abī ‘Utbah, the sons of al-Ḥaḍramī, Shu‘bah ibn ‘Abdillāh, and Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah; these were the children of the polytheists that had been killed at the Battle of Badr. They gave him to ‘Uqbah ibn al-Ḥārith who imprisoned him in his home, and he remained with him for as long as Allah willed. ‘Uqbah ibn al-Ḥārith’s wife used to show kindness to Khubayb, untying him and providing him with food. Khubayb said to her: “When the people are ready to kill me, let me know.” So, when they were ready to do so, she informed him. He said to

112 Translator’s note: A man renowned for fletching arrows.

her: "Send me a razor with which I can trim myself."¹¹³ She gave him a razor and he did so. Just then, the lady's son entered, with the razor still in Khubayb's hand. "Has Allah empowered me over you?" he joked.

"This is not what I thought of you", she replied.

Khubayb tossed the razor away. "I was only joking", he said.

When the sacred months had passed, the people who had participated in his purchase took him out, accompanied by the people of Mecca, to al-Tan'im, bringing a wooden crucifix with him. He performed two units of prayer [facing] towards the crucifix at the site of the mosque of al-Tan'im. Then, he finished, saying: "The only thing that prevented me from lengthening my prayer was that I feared you would think I was doing that to delay the execution and out of fear of death." He said: "O Allah, I cannot find anyone to convey a message to Your Messenger besides You, so convey my *salām* to him." Then, he added: "O Allah, count them one by one, and eliminate them completely."

When he was raised onto the crucifix, they called out to him, adjuring: "Would you not like for Muḥammad to be in your place?"

"No, by Allah the Almighty, I would not like to ransom myself [in exchange] for his foot being pricked by a thorn", Khubayb replied. They laughed at him.

Khubayb said:

"The confederates gathered around me and roused
their tribes, convening every group.

They called their children and women close,
and I was taken to a tall, strong tree-trunk.

To Allah do I complain of my loneliness after my anguish,
And at what the confederates have gathered by me, along with the
place I shall lie.

Lord of the Throne, grant me patience upon what is intended for me,
For they have torn my flesh to pieces, my hope having faded.
My Lord, grant me patience upon what is intended for me,
And at what the confederates have gathered by me, along with my fall
to death.

But by Allah, I care not when it is out of fear [of Allah],

113 Translator's note: i.e., to trim one's private area.

On what side I fall to my death in Allah's cause.
 That is for Allah's sake, and if He wishes,
 He shall bless the scraps of torn-up flesh.
 They presented disbelief but death is better than that,
 My eyes have welled with tears but with nowhere for them to flow.
 I have no fear of death – I am already destined to die,
 Rather, my fear is of the intense heat of the Fire, all-enveloping.”

‘Uqbah ibn al-Ḥārith executed Khubayb, and Niṣṭās, the servant of Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, killed Ibn al-Dathinah. They say that they shot Ibn al-Dathinah with arrows, intending to intimidate him, but that only increased him in firmness and faith.

They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, sitting on the day they were killed: “May peace be upon you both (or “upon you”), Khubayb has been killed by the Quraysh.” I am not sure if he mentioned Zayd ibn al-Dathinah or not.

They say that ‘Amr ibn Umayyah buried Khubayb. Ḥassān¹¹⁴ said:

“Alas! May the Most Merciful damn a people who instigated one another

To kill Khubayb – but whatever is destined occurs.
 Ṣafwān, the swine of the town, is amongst them,
 who delves into every disgraceful, obscene matter.
 ‘Tkrimah the dancer races ahead of them,
 As though Umm Wāsi‘ did not conceal her privates in your presence.”

He also said:

“Tell the Banū ‘Awf that their brother
 has been purchased by a man who was always a traitor.
 Zuhayr ibn al-Agharr and Jāmi‘ purchased him,
 both of whom have been committing violations since ages.

¹¹⁴ Ḥassān ibn Thābit ibn al-Mundhir ibn Ḥarām al-Anṣārī. He was often called the “Poet of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ”. He was the lead poet of the Muslim community, and would use his literary skills to protect the interests of his fellow co-religionists. He passed away at the age of 120. However, the year of his death is differed upon, with the key figures provided being 40 AH and 54 AH. [IGP-TD]

You granted protection, but after doing so, you were treacherous,
Whilst you were weak on the outskirts of Rajī'.
Alas! If only Khubayb had not been betrayed,
And if only Khubayb had truly known these people."

It is said that the commander of this detachment was 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī al-Aqlaḥ. Others said that it was Marthad ibn Abī Marthad.

It is said that the people of al-Rajī' were six individuals:

- 'Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī al-Aqlaḥ.
- Khubayb ibn 'Adī.
- Zayd ibn al-Dathinah al-Bayāḍī.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Ṭāriq, an ally of theirs from the Banū Ḍafar.
- Khālid ibn al-Bukayr al-Laythī.
- Marthad ibn Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, an ally of Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

THE COMPANIONS OF AL-RAJĪ'

A delegation from the 'Aḍal¹¹⁵ and al-Qārrah came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. They said: "There are Muslims amongst us, so send a group of your Companions to teach us [the religion]." So, the Messenger ﷺ sent [a delegation] with them.

When they stopped at al-Rajī', they cried out to Hudhayl for help against them. They had not been paying attention when suddenly, the enemy stood over them with swords whilst they were still in their camps (and therefore were not prepared for battle). When they saw them, they too grabbed their swords. "We do not wish to execute you", Hudhayl said, promising them and assuring them that they would not shoot them. Khubayb ibn 'Adī, Zayd ibn al-Dathinah, and 'Abdullāh ibn Ṭāriq surrendered to them. Conversely, 'Āṣim ibn Thābit, Khālid ibn al-Bukayr, and Marthad ibn Abī Marthad refused to surrender, fighting them until they were killed.

Hudhayl took the three that had surrendered to them as far as al-Ḍahrān. There, 'Abdullāh ibn Ṭāriq managed to free his hand from his

115 'Aḍal is a Khandafi Muḍarī tribe that formed part of the Qārrah clan. The Qārrah people consisted of around 12 families, who traced their lineage to Muḥammad al-Sā'ih. [IGP-TD]

shackles and grabbed a sword, but they pelted him with stones until they killed him.

They took Khubayb ibn 'Adī and Zayd ibn al-Dathinah to Mecca. Khubayb was purchased by the family of Ḥujayr ibn Abī Ihāb, and they killed him for [the death of] al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir. Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah purchased Zayd ibn al-Dathinah, and he had him killed for [the death of] his father. He was executed by Nisṭās, the servant of Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah.

THE STORY OF THE PASTURE CAMELS OF MEDINA

'Uyaynah ibn Badr al-Fazārī¹¹⁶ conducted a raid on the pasture camels of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Muslims at al-Ghābāt, or nearby, and successfully captured them.

It is said that Mas'adah al-Fazārī was the head of the force.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went out with the Muslims to find them. A group of eight went ahead, led by Sa'd ibn Zayd of the Banū 'Abd al-Ash-hal, and they met the enemy. Abū Qatādah¹¹⁷ grasped Mas'adah, and Allah killed him by his hand. Abū Qatādah took a red cloak of his that he was wearing and covered Mas'adah's body when he killed him. Then, they swiftly set out in pursuit of the pasture camels.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Muslims accompanying him passed the body of the person slain by Abū Qatādah. When they saw Abū Qatādah's cloak covering it, they presumed that it was him. One member of the group called them back, saying: "Abū Qatādah has been killed."

"Rather, it is the person Abū Qatādah killed", the Messenger ﷺ said. "He placed his cloak over him so that you would recognize it, so leave his victim and spoils."

Then, the warriors of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ found the enemy and

116 His real name was Ḥudhayfah ibn Ḥiṣḥ ibn Ḥudhayfah. He was named 'Uyaynah since as a child, he suffered a disease that deformed his face and caused his eyes to bulge. He later entered into Islam, but thereafter apostatized during the time of Abū Bakr ﷺ. He then fought against the Muslims and was taken captive. He requested asylum and a full pardon from Abū Bakr ﷺ and received it. He later entered into Islam again and was freed. [IGP-TD]

117 His name according to most scholars is al-Ḥārith. However, others have stated that his name was al-Nu'mān or 'Amr. His father was Rib'ī ibn Baldamah ibn Khunās. It is disagreed upon whether he participated in the Battle of Badr, and indeed, Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah did not include him in the list of participants earlier in the text. Nevertheless, it is agreed upon that he participated in Uḥud. He was an expert horseman and was as a result known as "the Horseman of the Messenger of Allah". [IGP-TD]

the pasture camels, and a fierce battle ensued. They rescued the camels, and Allah defeated the enemy.

It is said that Abū Qatādah [also] killed Qarfah, the wife of Mas‘adah.

From the Muslims, al-Ajdha‘ Muḥriz ibn Naḍlah¹¹⁸ was killed by Awthār. In response, ‘Ukkāshah ibn Miḥṣan¹¹⁹ intensified [his efforts in battle] and killed Awthār and his son ‘Amr. It is said that they were riding together.

Ḥassān ibn Thābit said about this battle:

“Were it not for what they encountered, and the debris inside their hooves,

To the south of Sāya yesterday as they were being led,
Our horses would have come to you carrying every fully-armed soldier,
Defending the truth, people of noble ancestry.

Those of ignoble descent would have rejoiced that
They were at peace on the morning al-Miqdād’s horsemen arrived.

We were only eight whilst they were a whole group of horsemen,
Clamorous; but they were pierced with lances and dispersed.

They were at one time relaxing at home, but then changed
On the day of Dhū Qarad to faces of slaves.

Indeed, we are of those who were pursuing them,
Firing at them, with the utmost power of every swift horse.

Surely, by the Lord of the camels that rush to Mina,
And those sitting, not allowing [others] to the mountain peaks,
Until we make the horses run through your courtyards
And return with your women and children.”

Ka‘b ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī said:

“Do those of ignoble descent think that we
On horseback are not the same as knights?

118 Muḥriz ibn Naḍlah ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Murrah ibn Kathīr ibn Ghanm ibn Dūdān ibn Asad ibn Khuzaymah al-Asadī. His epithet was Abū Naḍlah. According to the correct view, his title was al-Akhram. (*al-Iṣābah*) [IGP-TD]

119 ‘Ukkāshah ibn Miḥṣan ibn Jurthān ibn Qays ibn Murrah al-Asadī. He was one of the allies of Banū Umayyah. His epithet was Abū Miḥṣan. He was one of the elect Companions. He participated in Badr and every other campaign with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He was 44 years old when the Prophet ﷺ passed away and he was killed the following year in 11 AH during the campaign led by Abū Bakr ᷺ against the renegades. [IGP-TD]

When you return, be sure to tell the truth to those you meet;
Do not conceal your accounts in your gatherings.
And say: ‘We escaped the claws of the lion lying in wait
With rage in its bosom that it has not overcome.’”

THE STORY OF THE ‘URAYNĪS

Al-Qāsim ibn al-Mughīrah al-Jawharī read the following narration to Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Uways, who narrated from Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, from his uncle Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, who said: “A delegation from ‘Uraynah – ‘Uraynah being an area in Bajīlah – had come to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. They were exhausted, hurt, and on the brink of death, so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had them stay with him. They asked him to move them away from Medina, so he sent them out to some milk camels of his in the rural land of al-Khabār, beyond al-Ḥimā, where there was a Yemeni servant of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ called Yasār. They killed him, mutilated him, and drove away the camels of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent people to follow in their tracks, and they were caught just above the wilds. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave orders for them [to be executed], and so their hands and feet were cut off, and their eyes were gouged out. The commander of the cavalry that day was Sa‘īd ibn Zayd.

They say that this story was narrated by Anas ibn Mālīk.

They also state that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ forbade mutilation after that due to the verses in Sūrah al-Mā‘idah. Allah ﷻ says: ‘Indeed, the penalty for those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and spread mischief in the land is death, crucifixion, cutting off their hands and feet on opposite sides, or exile from the land. This [penalty] is a disgrace for them in this world, and they will suffer a tremendous punishment in the Hereafter.’¹²⁰ This verse [was revealed] and the one after it.’¹²¹

THE EXPEDITION OF IBN ABĪ AL-‘AWJĀ’

Then, there was the Battle of Ibn Abī al-‘Awjā’ al-Sulamī, [fought by] a

¹²⁰ *al-Mā‘idah*, 33.

¹²¹ The verse in question (*al-Mā‘idah*, 34) states: “As for those who repent before you seize them, then know that Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.” [IGP-TD]

group of people the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had sent to the land of the Banū Sulaym¹²². Ibn Abī al-‘Awjā’ was killed, as were his companions. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ dispatched a unit towards the land of the Banū Sulaym, which was at that time known as Bīr Ma‘ūnah. Bīr Ma‘ūnah was between al-Arḥaḍiyyah and Qurrān. It is said that their commander that day was al-Mundhir ibn ‘Amr¹²³, one of the Banū Sā‘idah. Others said that their leader was Marthad ibn Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī.

When they were part of the way there, they sent Ḥarām ibn Milḥān¹²⁴ of the Banū ‘Adī ibn al-Najjār to them to read them a letter from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. ‘Āmir ibn Mālīk of the Banū ‘Āmir met him and granted him protection until he was able to read them the letter from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

When he came to them, however, ‘Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl¹²⁵ advanced towards him and killed him. Then, he said: “By Allah, this man did not come alone.” They followed his tracks until they found the people who were coming with al-Mundhir.

“If you wish, we will protect you”, they replied.

“I will not give you my hand [to pledge] and I will not accept your protection unless you give me a firm assurance to bring me the corpse of Ḥarām ibn Milḥān”, he said. “Then, I will be free from your protection.” He fought them until he was killed.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Death led him there.”

‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr said: “‘Āmir’s body was never found; it was thought that the Angels buried him.”

The Muslims Who Were Killed that Day:

From the Quraysh then the Banū Taym:

- ‘Āmir ibn Fuhayrah.

122 An ‘Adnānī tribe that resided in the Hijaz region. [IGP-TD]

123 Al-Mundhir ibn ‘Amr ibn Khunays ibn Ḥārithah al-Khazrājī al-Anṣārī was one of the representatives on the day of ‘Aqabah. He was one of those who fought during the Battle of Badr. [IGP-TD]

124 Ḥarām ibn Milḥān ibn Khālīd ibn Zayd ibn Ḥarām al-Anṣārī. His father’s proper name was Mālīk. He was present during the Battle of Badr along with his brother Sulaym ibn Milḥām, and he was also present during Uḥud as well. [IGP-TD]

125 ‘Āmir ibn Ṭufayl was a Bedouin, prominent poet, and chief of the Banū ‘Āmir clan. He was a consummate enemy of the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslims, having broken the pact of protection and being involved in plots to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ. He died as a disbeliever. [IGP-TD]

From the Banū Makhzūm:

- Al-Ḥakam ibn Kaysān.

From the Anṣār then the Banū al-Najjār:

- Ḥarām ibn Milḥān.
- Aws ibn Mu‘ādh.
- Abū Shaykh ibn Thābit ibn al-Mundhir.
- Sahl ibn ‘Āmir ibn Sa‘d.
- Al-Ṭufayl ibn Sa‘d.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ṣimmah.
- Quṭbah ibn ‘Abd ‘Amr ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Ka‘b.
- And their commander, al-Mundhir ibn ‘Amr, one of the Banū Sā‘idah.

From the Banū Zurayq:

- Mu‘ādh ibn Mā‘iṣ.

From the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf:

- ‘Urwah ibn al-Ṣalt ibn Asmā’ al-Sulamī. He was offered protection, but he refused to accept, and so they executed him.
- Ka‘b ibn Zayd was carried from the battle injured, along with the slain, and was [later] killed at the Battle of the Trench. He was killed by ‘Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl and those with him from the Banū ‘Āmir and the Banū Sulaym.
- ‘Amr ibn Umayyah al-Ḍamrī was with the pasture camels. ‘Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl seized and then released him, saying to him: “Go back to your companion and tell him.” So, ‘Amr returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and informed him of what had happened.

Ḥassān ibn Thābit recited, remembering the protection of ‘Āmir ibn Mālik:

“Listen! Tell Rabī‘ah, of many noble efforts,
‘What did you achieve in the calamity after me?
Your father, a man of many virtues, is Abū Barā’,
whilst your maternal uncle, a nobleman, is Mājid.’
O sons of Umm al-Banīn, were you not distressed,
considering you are amongst the noblest people of Najd,

by 'Āmir taunting Abū Barā'

to betray him? And making a mistake is not like doing so deliberately."

- Three individuals from the unit of al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr lagged behind due to a lost camel they were pursuing when birds started dropping clumps of blood on them. They said: "By Allah, our companions have been killed. We know that they would not have been able to kill 'Āmir and the Banū Sulaym when they were all gathered. Rather, it is our brothers who have been killed. What do you think we should do?"
- One of them said: "As for me, I will not turn away from them." Hence, he went in their direction and was killed.
- The two others headed towards the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. On the way, they met two disbelieving men from the Banū Kilāb who had reached an agreement with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and they all lodged for the night at the same place. When the two from the Banū Kilāb went to sleep, the other two killed them, not knowing that they had a treaty with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

Al-Qāsim ibn al-Mughīrah narrated to us from Ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqbah, from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, who said: "Ibn Shihāb used to say regarding this narration: "Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik al-Sulamī and men from the people of knowledge narrated to me that 'Āmir ibn Mālik ibn Ja'far – who was called the Player with Spears (Mulā'ib al-Asinnah) – came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ whilst still a polytheist. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ presented Islam to him, but he refused to submit. He offered the Messenger of Allah ﷺ a gift, but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "I do not accept the gift of a polytheist."

So, 'Āmir ibn Mālik said: "O Messenger of Allah, send with me whichever envoys of yours you wish, and I will be a protector to them."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent a group which included al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr al-Sā'idī – about whom he said: "He rushed towards his death"¹²⁶ – [who was dispatched] as a spy on his behalf to the people of Najd. 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl heard about them, and he called upon the Banū 'Āmir to fight, but they refused to obey him and to betray 'Āmir ibn Mālik. So, 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl

¹²⁶ Translator's note: i.e., his decree quickly took him to the place he was destined to die.

mobilized the Banū Sulaym and they went with him. They killed them at Bi'r Ma'ūnah, except for 'Amr ibn Umayyah al-Ḍamrī, who 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl took and sent. When 'Amr ibn Umayyah came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to him: "Make peace between them."

When Ḥassān ibn Thābit recited his poetry about 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl's betrayal of 'Āmir ibn Mālik, Rabī'ah ibn Mālik – they say – stabbed 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl's thigh on account of his betraying 'Āmir ibn Mālik. However, he was only destined to injure him nonfatally."

THE NARRATION OF KA'B IBN AL-ASHRAF

Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, the Jewish man, was either one of, or affiliated to, the Banū al-Naḍīr. He had insulted the Messenger of Allah ﷺ in satirical poetry. He rode to the Quraysh and instigated them against the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. Abū Sufyān said to him: "I implore you [in the Name of Allah] – which is more beloved to Allah ﷻ: our religion or the religion of Muḥammad and his companions? And which of us is more guided and closer to the truth in your opinion? We provide large-humped camels as food, serve water with milk added to it, and feed one and all."

"You are more guided than them by far!" Ibn al-Ashraf replied.

Thereafter, having persuaded the polytheists to fight the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, he set out, openly lampooning and announcing his enmity towards the Messenger of Allah ﷺ¹²⁷.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "Who will deal with Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf for us? He is openly lampooning and announcing his enmity towards us. He went to the Quraysh and persuaded them to fight us; Allah has informed me of this. Then, he went on to perpetrate the most despicable action: waiting for the Quraysh to advance so that he could fight us alongside them." Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ recited what Allah revealed about him, which was – and Allah knows best – "Have you [O Prophet] not seen those who were given a portion of the Scriptures yet believe in idols and false deities and reassure the disbelievers that they are better

127 The enemies of Islam often cite the story of Ka'b ibn Ashraf to criticize the Prophet ﷺ and the early Muslims. Their charge is that the Prophet ﷺ had Ka'b ibn Ashraf killed simply because he insulted him. Yet, as seen from this narration and other reports in the books of hadith and the *sīrah* literature, he had also allied himself with the Quraysh and pledged his support for them, after having sworn a treaty with the Muslims in Medina. Such a brazen act is treachery and treason. [IGP-TD]

guided than the believers?”¹²⁸, and verses regarding the Quraysh alongside it.

It was mentioned to us, and Allah knows best, that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “O Allah, suffice me against Ibn al-Ashraf with whatever You wish.”

Muḥammad ibn Maslamah¹²⁹ said: “I will kill him, O Messenger of Allah.”

“Yes”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

Muḥammad ibn Maslamah left to return to his family. At the cemetery, he met Silkān ibn Salāmah¹³⁰, who was heading towards the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has ordered me to kill Ibn al-Ashraf”, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah said. “You were his confidant in Jāhiliyyah, and he will not trust anyone besides you. Bring him out to me so that I can kill him.”

“If the Messenger of Allah ﷺ orders me, then I will do it”, Silkān replied.

So, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah returned with him to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. “O Messenger of Allah”, Silkān said: “Did you order for Ka’b ibn al-Ashraf to be killed?”

“Yes”, he replied.

“O Messenger of Allah”, Silkān said: “grant me a concession¹³¹ with respect to what I say to Ibn al-Ashraf.”

“You have been given a concession regarding what you say”, he replied.

Silkān, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, ‘Abbād ibn Bishr ibn Waqsh¹³²,

128 *Al-Nisā’*, 51. [IGP-TD]

129 Muḥammad ibn Maslamah ibn Salamah ibn Khālid ibn ‘Adī al-Awsī al-Anṣārī was born twenty-two years before the beginning of the prophetic mission. He was one of the individuals named Muḥammad during the period of Jāhiliyyah. He entered Islam early on before Sa’d ibn Mu’ādh ﷺ and he participated in Badr and the rest of the military campaigns. The only exception in this regard is Tabūk, where he was given a concession by the Prophet ﷺ to remain in Medina. [IGP-TD]

130 Silkān ibn Salāmah ibn Waqsh ibn Zughbah al-Anṣārī al-Ashhālī was a Companion and participated in Uhūd and all the subsequent campaigns. He was also a poet. He passed away during the rule of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ﷺ in the year 13 AH. [IGP-TD]

131 Editor’s note: He was asking the Prophet ﷺ for permission to speak ill of him ﷺ as part of the ruse to get closer to Ka’b.

132 His full name is ‘Abbād ibn Bishr ibn Waqsh ibn Zughbah al-Anṣārī al-Ashhālī. It is agreed that he entered Islam in the early days in Medina at the hand of Muṣ’ab ibn ‘Umayr. He was present at Badr, Uhūd, and the rest of the military campaigns. His staff would illuminate the path for him when he left from the noble presence of the Prophet ﷺ. He was martyred on the Day of Yamāmah. [IGP-TD]

Salamah ibn Thābit ibn Waqsh¹³³, and Abū ‘Abs ibn Jabr¹³⁴ set out, coming to Ka‘b on a moonlit night and concealing themselves in the shadows of some date palm trunks. Silkān went out and shouted: “O Ka‘b!”

“Who is that?” Ka‘b said.

“This is Abū Laylā, O Abū Nā‘ilah”, Silkān replied, Abū Nā‘ilah being Ka‘b’s *kunyah*.

“Do not go down, O Abū Nā‘ilah”, Ka‘b’s wife said to him: “for he is going to kill you.”

“My brother would not bring me except something positive”, he replied. “[Even] if an honourable man is called to be stabbed, he responds!”

Ka‘b then went out. When he opened the door to the outside, he said: “Who are you?”

“Your brother”, Silkān replied. “Lower your head for me.”

Ka‘b lowered his head, recognized him, and went down to him, and Silkān walked him to the people. Silkān said to him: “We are hungry and have endured hardship with this fellow of ours (i.e., the Prophet ﷺ). I have come to you to talk about pawning my armour in exchange for wheat.”

“I already told you that you will face that”, Ka‘b replied. “However, we have dates, wheat, and ambergris, so come to us.”

“Maybe we will”, Silkān said. Then, he put his hand in Ka‘b’s hair and smelt it. “How beautiful this ambergris of yours is!” He did this once or twice to gain his trust. Then, he grabbed his head with a force that almost ripped it off, and the enemy of Allah let out a loud screech.

“My companion!” his wife screamed.

Silkān held him in an embrace and said: “Kill me and the enemy of Allah.” They continued aiming with their swords until one of them stabbed him in the stomach, piercing his intestines. They reached him and struck him [again] with their swords. During their aims at him, whilst Silkān was still holding onto him, they struck ‘Abbād ibn Bishr – either on his face or leg – without realizing.

Then, they hurried away until they reached the banks of Bu‘āth, where

133 Salamah ibn Thābit ibn Waqsh ibn Zughbah al-Anṣārī al-Ashhalī fought at Uḥud and was martyred by Abū Sufyān in the same military conflict. [IGP-TD]

134 Abū ‘Abs ibn Jabr ibn ‘Amr ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Awsī. It is said that his name in the Jāhiliyyah period was ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā. It has also been said that it was Ma‘bad. The Prophet ﷺ renamed him ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. He was present during the Battle of Badr, and was 48 years old at the time. He and his father (Burdah) would break the idols of Banū Ḥārithah after they entered Islam. He passed away in the year 34 AH and ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān ؓ prayed over him. [IGP-TD]

they found their companion missing. He had lost a lot of blood. They returned on their tracks to find him behind the banks, and carried him back to his family at night.

Allah ﷻ killed Ibn al-Ashraf for his enmity towards Allah and His Messenger ﷺ, and his mocking of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and open instigation of the Quraysh against him.

THE KILLING OF SALLĀM IBN ABĪ AL-ḤUQAYQ

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Atīk¹³⁵, ‘Abdullāh ibn Unays, Mas‘ūd ibn Sinān ibn al-Aswa¹³⁶d, Abū Qatādah ibn Rib‘ī ibn Baldamah, from the Banū Salimah, Aswad ibn Khuzā‘ī¹³⁷, an ally of theirs, and it is said – and we only found it in this book – As‘ad ibn Ḥarām, who was one of the [Banū] Bark and an ally of the Banū Sawād. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ appointed ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Atīk as their commander. They visited the Jewish man Abū Rāfi‘ ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq¹³⁸ by night in Khaybar and killed him in his house.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah says:

Ibn Shihāb said: “Ibn Ka‘b said: ‘They came to the Messenger ﷺ whilst he was on the pulpit. “Were you successful?” he asked.

“We were successful, O Messenger of Allah”, they replied.

“Did you kill him?” he asked.

“Yes”, they replied.

“Give me the sword”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, and they drew it for him. “Yes, this is his food on the edge of the sword”, he said.”

135 Abdullāh ibn ‘Atīk ibn Qays ibn al-Aswad ibn Murayy al-Anṣārī. It is a matter of agreement that he was present at Uḥud and the subsequent campaigns with the Prophet ﷺ. Some believed that he was martyred in the Battle of Yamāmah while others believed that he was present at Ṣiffin. [IGP-TD]

136 Mas‘ūd ibn Sinān al-Aswad was an ally of the Banū Ghanm ibn Salimah from the Anṣār. He participated in Uḥud. He was martyred on the Day of Yamāmah. [IGP-TD]

137 Aswad ibn Khuzā‘ī al-Aslamī was an ally of the Banū Salimah from the Anṣār. He was present and fought during Uḥud. According to al-Wāqidī, he travelled to Yemen with ‘Alī ﷺ when the Prophet ﷺ sent him there. [IGP-TD]

138 Salām ibn Abī Huqayq was one of the chief transgressors of the Jews against the Muslim community. He instigated the confederates and helped them with wealth and equipment against the Muslims. [IGP-TD]

THE EXPEDITION OF DHĀT AL-SALĀSIL¹³⁹

Next was the Expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsīl of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, on the outskirts of the Levant, to Balī, Sa‘dallāh, and those who were adjacent to them from [the Banū] Quḍā‘ah. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ feared [a lack of manpower] on his side, so he sent a message to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ requesting reinforcements. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ delegated the earliest Muhājirūn (Emigrants), including Abū Bakr and ‘Umar ؓ, amongst the best of them, and appointing Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāh¹⁴⁰ as their commander.

When they came to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, he said: “I am your commander, and I sent a message to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, asking him to reinforce me with you.”

The Muhājirūn replied: “Rather, you are the commander of your companions and Abū ‘Ubaydah is the commander of the Muhājirūn.”

“Rather, you are reinforcements with which I have been bolstered”, ‘Amr said.

When Abū ‘Ubaydah saw this – and he was a well-mannered, gentle man who closely followed the instructions and commands of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ – he said: “You know, O ‘Amr, that the last command the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave me was: ‘When you get to your companion, agree with one another.’ Even if you disobey me, I shall obey you.” And with that, he surrendered command to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ.

Then, there was the Expedition of Qaṭan, in which Mas‘ūd ibn ‘Urwah was killed.

Then, there was the Expedition of al-Ghamrah in Najd. Their commander was Thābit ibn Aqram of the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf, and he was accompanied by ‘Ukkāshah ibn Miḥṣan, an ally of the Banū Umayyah, and Laqīṭ ibn ‘Iṣr¹⁴¹, an ally of the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf, both of whom

139 This refers to the first expedition – which took place in 8 AH – and not the battle that took place in 12 AH after the Riddah Wars. [IGP-TD]

140 His name was ‘Āmir ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Jarrāh ibn Hilāl al-Qurashī al-Fihri. He participated in all the campaigns of the Prophet ﷺ. He was among the early Muslims in Mecca, and migrated to Abyssinia during the second migration. He was also one of the ten for whom Paradise was promised by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He was a scribe both before Islam and during the period of divine revelation. He passed away in 34 AH at the age of 70 years old. [IGP-TD]

141 His real name is al-Nu‘mān ibn ‘Iṣr ibn al-Rabī‘ al-Balawī. He was an ally of the Banū Mu‘āwiyah ibn Mālik from the Anṣār, and is said to have fought at the Battle of Badr. He is believed to have been killed during the Riddah Wars led during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr ؓ against the

were from Balī. Thābit ibn Aqram, ‘Ukkāshah ibn Miḥṣan, and Laqīṭ ibn ‘Iṣr were killed therein. Ṭulayḥah al-Asadī the Liar said:

“On the night I left Ibn Aqram lying dead
And ‘Ukkāshah al-Ghanmī on the battlefield,
I set for them the chest of Ḥimālah¹⁴²; surely
she is accustomed to hearing brave men shouting ‘Come down to fight.’
One day you see her in a caparison, protected;
On other days you see her in the shade of spears.
If aging she-camels are taken,
You will never escape unavenged for killing Ḥibāl.”

Before that, [there was]:

The Expedition of Zayd ibn Ḥārithah to Thaniyyah al-Qaradah, during which he captured a caravan of the Quraysh that was travelling to Iraq.

The Expedition to al-Jamūm, towards the lands of the Banū Sulaym.

The Expedition to Ḥismā¹⁴³.

The Expedition to al-Ṭaraf¹⁴⁴.

The Expedition to Wādī al-Qurā¹⁴⁵, during which he was accompanied by Ward ibn Mirdās and ‘Utbah. Ward ibn Mirdās¹⁴⁶ was killed there. It is said that Zayd was carried off the battlefield injured amongst the slain. Mūsā said:

Ibn Shihāb used to say: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent two expeditions to the Levant: to [the Banū] Kalb, the Banū al-Qayn, Ghassān, and the disbelieving Arabs who resided on the outskirts of the Levant. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ appointed Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ of the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihr as commander of one of the expeditions, and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ as commander of the other. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were delegated to the unit of Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ. When it was time for the two

renegades. [IGP-TD]

142 Translator’s note: the name of his horse.

143 A desert region in the northwest portion of the Arabian Peninsula. [IGP-TD]

144 A subregion that lies in the southern portion of the Aḥsā’ region of the Arabian Peninsula. [IGP-TD]

145 A valley located north of Medina. It lied on the main trade route between the Hijaz and Shām regions. [IGP-TD]

146 His real name was Ward ibn ‘Amr ibn Mirdās. He was from the Banū Sa’d Hudaym. [IGP-TD]

missions to depart, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ called for Abū 'Ubaydah and 'Amr ibn al- 'Āṣ and said to them both: 'Do not dispute.'

When they left Medina, Abū 'Ubaydah turned to 'Amr ibn al- 'Āṣ and said: 'The Prophet ﷺ ordered us not to dispute, so either you must obey me or I must obey you.'

'Rather, you should obey me,' 'Amr replied, so Abū 'Ubaydah obeyed him and 'Amr became commander of both units.

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ had a serious issue with that, so he spoke to Abū 'Ubaydah and said: 'Are you [really] going to obey Ibn al-Nābighah and appoint him leader over yourself, Abū Bakr, and us? This is not a carefully considered opinion!'

Abū 'Ubaydah said to 'Umar ؓ: 'May my father and mother be your ransom, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered that we not disobey one another, so I feared that if I did not obey him (i.e., 'Amr), I would be disobeying the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and other people would come in between us. So, by Allah, I will obey him until we return.'

When they did return, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ spoke to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and complained to him about what Abū 'Ubaydah had done. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: 'Henceforth, I will only appoint someone amongst you (i.e., the Muhājirūn).'

This expedition was called the Expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil¹⁴⁷, or the Battle of Chains, for many Arabs were captured and made prisoners.

Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ appointed Usāmah ibn Zayd, who was a young man, as commander, delegating 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Zubayr ibn al- 'Awwām to his mission.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ passed away before this mission departed. Abū Bakr dispatched it after the death of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. However, he sought permission for 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ [to stay behind], and so he kept him back."

Al-Qāsim narrated to us from Ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqbah:

Sālim ibn 'Abdillāh narrated: "'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar said: 'Some people criticized the appointment of Usāmah. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood up and said: "If you are criticizing the leadership of Usāmah, then you

147 Editor's note: Not to be confused with the Battle of Dhāt al-Salāsil in the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ, this expedition was a much smaller affair.

were criticizing the leadership of his father before him, and I swear by Allah, he (i.e., Usāmah's father) was entitled to leadership, and he was one of the most beloved people to me. And [now] this one is amongst the most beloved people to me after him. So, treat him well after me, for he is from the best of you.””

Mūsā said:

Sālim ibn ‘Abdillāh narrated: “‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar said: ‘The Messenger of Allah ﷺ would not exclude Fāṭimah ﷺ.’”

Then, when he assumed leadership after the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, Abū Bakr ﷺ sent:

Three commanders to the Levant:

- Khālīd ibn Sa‘īd¹⁴⁸ in charge of one army.
- ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ al-Sahmī¹⁴⁹ in charge of another.
- And Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah¹⁵⁰ in charge of another.

Then, he removed Khālīd ibn Sa‘īd [from his position] and gave Yazīd¹⁵¹ ibn Abī Sufyān command of his army. He met him at Dhū al-Marwah, and it was as if ‘Umar was angry with Khālīd ibn Sa‘īd.

When Allah ﷻ effected His decree upon the polytheists at the Battle of

148 Khālīd ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣī al-Umawī was among the earliest of people to enter Islam. It is said that he was either the fourth or fifth to do so. The reason for him entering Islam was that he saw in a dream that he was on the edge of a fire and his father was about to throw him in it. But at this crucial moment, the Prophet ﷺ grabbed hold of his waistband and saved him. He woke up and went to Abū Bakr ﷺ, who told him to follow Muḥammad ﷺ, for he is the Messenger of Allah. As a result, he went and became Muslim. News of his conversion reached his father, who punished him, refused him provisions, and forbade his siblings from speaking to him. He thus hid until he turned upon Abyssinia as an immigrant. He was martyred either in the Battle of Ajnādīn or in the Battle of Marj al-Ṣaffar, both of which occurred in 13 AH. [IGP-TD]

149 ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ al-Sahmī was one of the nobles of Quraysh during the Jāhiliyyah period. He initially opposed and fought against the Muslims at the Battles of Badr, Uḥūd, and the Trench. He had even represented the Quraysh when he sent a delegation to Abyssinia in order to make an official request that the Negus return the Muslims who had fled there. However, once the Quraysh returned to Mecca after the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah, he went to Abyssinia. There, he entered Islam at the hands of the Negus. He then participated in a number of expeditions and, after the Prophet ﷺ passed away, led the army that liberated Egypt, and brought it under the banner of Islam. [IGP-TD]

150 Shuraḥbīl ibn Ḥasanah. While Ḥasanah was his mother, his father was ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Muṭā’ ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Kindī. His half-brothers of the same mother were Junādah and Jābir ibn Sufyān ibn Ma‘mar. All three entered Islam in the nascent period of the faith and migrated to Abyssinia and then to Medina. He passed away during the plague of ‘Amwās at the age of 67. [IGP-TD]

151 Editor’s note: Not to be confused with Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah, the Umayyad leader. Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān was a Companion and the half-brother of Mu‘āwiyah.

Badr and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned to Medina:

He fought against the Banū Sulaym at al-Kudr.

Then the Ghaṭafān at Nakhl.

And then the Quraysh and the Banū Sulaym at Baḥrān. Then he returned and did not encounter anyone.

Next, he fought at the Battle of Uḥud, and he pursued the enemy as far as Ḥamrā' al-Asad.

Then, he set out for his appointment with the Quraysh at Badr,¹⁵² but they failed to show.

Next, he fought the Banū al-Naḍīr. This was the battle in which he expelled them to Khaybar.

Then, he set out for Najd, seeking fighters and the Banū Tha'labah. **This was the Expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā'**, the expedition in which the prayer was shortened [for] the Fear Prayer.

Then, the Expedition of Dūmah¹⁵³.

Then, the Battle of the Trench.

Then, the Battle with the Banū Qurayzah.

Then, the Battle with the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq at al-Muraysī', and Allah defeated them. He (i.e., the Prophet ﷺ) took Juwayriyah bint al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Ḍirār prisoner during this battle, after which he allotted her, and she became one of his wives.

Some of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq claimed that her father asked for her and then ransomed her from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked for her hand, and so her father married her to him.

'Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl returned with a group of the Hypocrites. When they saw that Allah ﷻ had aided and defended the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions, they began making comments about the place at which the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had chosen to stop. Amongst the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was a man called Ji'al, who they say was from the Banū Tha'labah, and a man from the Banū Ghifār called Jahjāh. They raised their voices, and took a stern stance against the Hypocrites, responding to their statements.

They say that Jahjāh went out one day with a horse belonging to the

152 Translator's note: This was the third expedition of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to Badr.

153 This expedition took place in 6 AH. Dūmah al-Jandal is the name of the area in which the Banū 'Amr of the Ṭay' clan resided. Today, it is situated approximately 50 kilometers west of Sukākā. [IGP-TD]

Messenger of Allah ﷺ and a horse he had on that day to give them water. He took them to the water, where he found some young boys from the Anṣār. They argued over the water and started fighting. ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl said: “This is our reward. We shelter and protect them and then they fight us.”

Ḥassān ibn Thābit the Poet heard about what had taken place between Jahjah al-Ghifārī and the Anṣārī youths. He became angry and said, speaking about the migrants amongst the tribes who came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ for [the purpose of embracing] Islam:

“The strangers have caused fright and became numerous

And the son of al-Furay‘ah¹⁵⁴ stands unparalleled in the land.”

A man from the Banū Sulaym came out, enraged by Ḥassān’s words, and lay in wait for him. When Ḥassān emerged, he struck him so forcefully that it was reported that he had killed him. It is accepted that the man was Ṣafwān ibn al-Mu‘aṭṭal, for it has reached us that he struck Ḥassān with his sword. However, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not cut his hand for striking him with his sword.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ heard about the Sulamī’s man striking Ḥassān. He said to them (i.e., his Companions): “Seize him. If Ḥassān dies, then kill him for that.”

So, they took him, captured him, and tied him up.

Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah heard about it and went to them with his people, and said: “Let go of the man”, but they refused. He said: “You intended to revile and hurt the people of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ whilst you claim to have helped them.” Sa’d expressed his anger for the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his people, and helped them. He said again: “Let go of the man”, but they refused, almost causing a fight between them. They then let go of him, and Sa’d took him to his family, clothed him in a garment, and then let him go. It has reached us that the Sulamī man entered the mosque to pray. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw him and said: “Whoever clothed you, may Allah clothe them in the garments of Paradise”, to which the man said: “Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah clothed me.”

‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy¹⁵⁵ said to his associates: “By Allah, were you not

154 Translator’s note: Furay‘ah was Ḥassān’s mother.

155 ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl was one of the main leaders of the Khazraj clan and the chief of

to spend on these fools who have no possessions, they would not ride your mounts nor would any of them set out with him. They would join their clans and seek the good life. Had we returned to Medina, the honourable would definitely have expelled the inferior.” Allah recorded what he said against him.

Aws ibn Aqram of the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj heard the statements of ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy and conveyed them to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. ‘Umar said: “O Messenger of Allah, do you have any interest in ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy? He said a short while ago, ‘By Allah! Had you not spent on these fools who have nothing, they would not control you and no man amongst them would follow him. They would join their own clans in search of a livelihood. If we return to Medina, the honourable will definitely expel the inferior.’ Aws ibn Aqram informed me that he heard this from him. O Messenger of Allah, send ‘Abbād ibn Bishr of the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal or Mu‘ādh ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ to kill him.” However, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ disliked his proposition, and when ‘Umar saw that, he fell silent.

The army of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ spoke about ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy’s words and discussed it extensively. Then, the Messenger ﷺ announced their departure and did not stay where he had stopped, setting off as soon as he had alighted. When he was alone, the people said: “What is the matter with the Messenger of Allah that he did not stay where he stopped? Some news has come to him. Perhaps Medina and its inhabitants have been attacked.”

Al-Qāsim narrated to us from Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, from Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, who said:

‘Abdullāh ibn al-Faḍl narrated to me that he heard Anas ibn Mālīk say: “I was saddened due to those of my people who were afflicted at al-Ḥarrah. Zayd ibn Arqam wrote to me – having heard of the intensity of my sorrow – mentioning that he had heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ say: ‘O Allah, forgive the Anṣār and the children of the Anṣār.’” Ibn al-Faḍl was unsure about [the Messenger of Allah ﷺ also saying]: “...and the children of the children of the Anṣār.”

Ibn al-Faḍl continued: “Some of the people who were with him asked him about Zayd ibn Arqam. He said: ‘He is the one regarding whom the

Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “This is the person whose hearing Allah confirmed.””

This occurred when he heard one of the Hypocrites saying – whilst the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was giving an address – “If this man is truthful, then we are worse than donkeys.”

Zayd ibn Arqam said: “By Allah, he is truthful, and you are definitely worse than a donkey.”

Then, Zayd raised the matter with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, but the man who had uttered the statement denied it. So, Allah revealed to His Messenger ﷺ: “They swear by Allah that they never said anything [blasphemous], while they did in fact utter a blasphemy and lost faith after accepting Islam.”¹⁵⁶ The first thing Allah ﷻ revealed in this verse, therefore, was a confirmation of Zayd’s truthfulness.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent for ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy, asking him about what he had said. He swore by Allah that he had not said anything of the sort. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to him: “If you uttered something out of haste, repent”, but he denied and swore his innocence.

Some men came to Zayd ibn Arqam and said: “You have treated your cousin badly and wronged him, and even the Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not believe you.” And Allah already knew [the truth].

As they were walking, they noticed that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was receiving Revelation. Once Allah had decreed that which He decreed in that very place and the intensity of Revelation was removed from him, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ looked to see Aws ibn Aqram was there. He took hold of his ear and twisted it, until the people started looking up. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood up – they did not know what his intention was – and said: “Be glad, for Allah has confirmed the veracity of your statements.” Then, he recited Sūrah al-Munāfiqūn to him, until he reached that which Allah revealed concerning Ibn Ubayy: “They are the ones who say [to one another], ‘Do not spend [anything] on those [Emigrants] with the Messenger of Allah so that they will break away [from him].’ But to Allah [alone] belong the treasures of the Heavens and the Earth, yet the Hypocrites do not comprehend. They say, ‘If we return to Medina, the honourable will definitely expel the inferior.’ But all honour and power belong to Allah, His Messenger, and the believers, yet the Hypocrites do

¹⁵⁶ *al-Tawbah*, 74.

not know.”¹⁵⁷

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ lodged at Baq‘ā en route to ‘Amq, the people let their camels roam freely. [Suddenly,] they were caught by a strong wind so fierce that it terrified them. Someone asked: “O Messenger of Allah, what is the significance of this wind?”

They say that he replied: “Today, a staunch Hypocrite died, and because of that, this wind rages. It will not affect you, Allah willing.”

His death was a huge blow to the Hypocrites. Jābir said: “We returned to Medina and found that a staunch Hypocrite had died that day.”

The wind calmed at the end of the day and the people gathered their camels. The mount of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was lost amongst the rest of the camels, and so the men set out to find it. One of the Hypocrites said to a group of the Anṣār: “Where are these people going?”

“They are looking for a camel of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ that went astray”, his companions replied.

“Does Allah not tell him where his camel is?” the Hypocrite said.

His companions rebuked him for his statement. “May Allah destroy you. You have committed an act of Hypocrisy. Why did you come out when this was in your heart?”

“I came out to attain worldly gains, and by my life, Muḥammad tells us of things much more important than a camel.”

His companions cursed him. “By Allah, we are not going to be taken to task on your account. If we knew that this was in your heart, you would not have accompanied us for even a moment”, they said.

The Hypocrite stayed with them for a while and then stood up and left. He headed towards the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, aiming to eavesdrop on him, but he found that Allah ﷻ had already told him his affair. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, with the Hypocrite listening: “There is a man from the Hypocrites who was delighted that the camel of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had gone astray and said: ‘Does Allah not tell him where his camel is?’ Indeed, Allah has informed me of her position, and no-one knows the Unseen except Allah. She is in the mountain pass opposite you and her reins are caught in a tree.” They went there and returned with the camel.

The Hypocrite hurriedly returned to the group to whom he had uttered

157 *al-Munāfiqūn*, 7-8.

his statement. He found them sitting in the same position; not one person had left their place. The Hypocrite said: "I adjure you in the Name of Allah, did any of you go to Muḥammad and inform him of what I said?"

"By Allah, no. Nor did we depart this gathering of ours", they replied.

"I found my story with the people", he said. Then, he added: "By Allah, it is as if I am just embracing Islam today. I doubted his mission, but [now] I bear witness that he is the Messenger of Allah."

"Go to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and he will seek forgiveness for you", they advised. It is said that he went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and admitted his transgression, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sought forgiveness on his behalf. They say that this person was Ibn al-Luṣayt, and they also claim he remained an ignoble person until his death.

THE BATTLE OF UḤUD

The Quraysh returned and summoned whomever they could from the polytheists of the Arabs. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb set out with a group of the Quraysh in Shawwāl of the year following the incident of Badr, [and they proceeded] until they emerged between the two Jammā [mountains]. Then they stopped in the heart of the valley before Uḥud.

There were Muslim men who did not participate at Badr and regretted what they had missed out on. They longed to meet the enemy and be tested in the way their brothers had. When Abū Sufyān and the polytheists lodged at the foot of Uḥud, the Muslims who had been absent at Badr were delighted that the enemy had come to them, saying: "Allah has driven our wish to us."

Then, on the eve of Friday, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw a dream. In the morning, a group of his Companions came to him, and he said: "Last night in my dreams, I saw cows, and by Allah, that is good. I saw the edge of my sword Dhū al-Faḡār shattering" – or, he said: "being dented" – "and I disliked that, and they are both ordeals. I saw myself wearing an impenetrable armour and making someone ride behind me on a ram."

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ informed the Companions of his dream, they said: "O Messenger of Allah, how did you interpret your dream?"

He replied: "I interpreted the cows I saw as [both] us and the enemy being killed, and I disliked what I saw with my sword."

Some said that what he saw happen to his sword was what happened

to his face, for the enemy struck his face that day, cracked his front tooth, and split his lip. They say that the one who shot him was 'Utbah ibn Abi Waqqāṣ¹⁵⁸. The cows represented the Muslims who were killed that day.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "I interpreted the ram as the [leader of the] enemy battalion, which I killed, and I interpreted the impenetrable armour as Medina, so stay put and put the families in the citadels. If the enemy do enter upon us from the alleys, we will fight them and they will be shot from above the houses."

They had fortified the alleys of Medina to such an extent that the city was like a fortress.

Those who had not participated at Badr said: "O Prophet of Allah, we longed for this day and prayed to Allah for it. Allah has now driven it to us and made the destination closer."

Some from the Anṣār said: "When will we fight them, O Messenger of Allah, if we do not fight them right here at our own mountain pass?"

Others said: "What will we do if we cannot even defend the land from being sown?"

Some uttered statements that they stayed true to and died upon. One of them was Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ؓ, who said: "By the One Who revealed the Book to you, we will contend with them."

Nu'mān ibn Mālik ibn Tha'labah¹⁵⁹, who was one of the Banū Sālim, said: "O Prophet of Allah, do not deprive us of Paradise, for by the One in Whose Hand is my soul, I will certainly enter it."

"Because of what?" the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

"Because I love Allah and His Messenger and I will not flee on the day of battle", he replied.

"You have spoken the truth", the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said. Nu'mān was martyred that day.

Many refused any option except marching out to the enemy, not agreeing with the words and opinion of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. If they had been satisfied with his instructions, it would have been so, but the Decree and Decision [of Allah] superseded. Most of the people who advised him

158 Some have asserted that 'Utbah became a Muslim after this and died in Medina, thereby making him a Companion. However, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Aṣqalānī has emphatically stated that there is no record of him every having entered Islam. Instead, all the reports indicate that he died upon the state of disbelief. (*al-Isābah*) [IGP-TD]

159 Al-Nu'mān ibn Mālik ibn Tha'labah ibn Da'd ibn Fihir al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī. He was one of the participants in the Battle of Badr and was martyred at Uḥud. [IGP-TD]

to march out to the enemy were those who had not participated at Badr, knowing the virtue that the people of Badr had already attained.

After the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had performed the Friday prayer, he exhorted and reminded the people, commanded them to strive and exert themselves [in battle]. Then, having left from his prayer and sermon, he called for his breastplate and put it on, and the announcement to set out was made to the people.

When they saw that, some people of prudence said: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed us to stay in Medina, so that if the enemy enters upon us, we can fight them in the alleys. He is more knowledgeable of Allah and what He wants; Revelation comes to him from Heaven. Even after that, we have forced him to go. O Prophet of Allah, stay as you instructed us.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “It is not befitting for a Prophet once they have taken their breastplate for war and announced marching out to the enemy to return until they have fought. I called you to this position, but you insisted on marching out. So, you must be mindful of Allah and steadfast when you meet the enemy in battle. Observe what I command you to do and then carry it out.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Muslims then marched out, travelling past al-Badā'i¹⁶⁰. The Muslims numbered 1,000 men whilst the polytheists were 3,000.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ continued on his way until he stopped at Uḥud. ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl deserted him as part of a group of 300; thus, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ remained in a group of 700. Ka'b ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī¹⁶¹ said:

“We are at this bend in the valley; had its people been
Anyone besides us, they would have set off at night and dispersed.
Resilient in the face of adversities, you will never see
Any of our eyes weeping over one who has perished.
Three thousand they were, whilst we were a select group –
Three hundred, or four hundred at the most.

160 A settlement in the Qassim region of the Arabian Peninsula. [IGP-TD]

161 Ka'b ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī was known as the poet of Islam. He entered Islam during its formative period and was present at al-'Aqabah. He also participated in the Battle of Badr. He was one of the few individuals who remained behind during the expedition of Tabūk, but was pardoned by Allah and his repentance was accepted. He relates a long hadith about this major affair. He passed away in the year 50 AH. [IGP-TD]

They quickly fled hastily, having been hurt, as though they were Clouds whose water the winds have totally rinsed.
We carried on, our rearguard moving slowly, as though we were Limping lions over meat in Bisha.”

When ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl went back with the group of 300, two groups of the Muslims felt incapacitated and were about to lose heart. They were, it is stated, the Banū Hārithah and the Banū Salimah.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ lined up [his forces] at the foot of Uḥud, the polytheists lined up at al-Sabakhah, which faced Uḥud, and the two sides mobilized for battle. The polytheists placed Khālīd ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah in charge of their cavalry. They had 100 horses, whilst the Muslims had none. The battle standard of the polytheists was carried by a man from the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār¹⁶². Their usual standard bearer Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Uthmān, the brother of Shaybah ibn ‘Uthmān, complained – [the responsibilities of] being the doorkeeper [of the Sacred House], leading the assembly, and bearing the standard belonged to them. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb said: “The standard was lost. It was lost at the Battle of Badr when those you know were slain around it. I think we should confront them with another flag.”

The Banū ‘Abd al-Dār and their allies replied: “If you wish, raise another flag by all means. However, only a man from the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār should raise it.”

“Rather, you have your flag”, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb said: “so be steadfast with it.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave instructions to fifty archers, placing them in the direction of the enemy’s cavalry. He chose ‘Abdullāh ibn Jubayr¹⁶³, the brother of Khawwāt ibn Jubayr, to lead them, and said to them: “O archers! When we have taken our places for battle, [even] if you see the cavalry of the polytheists moving and the enemies of Allah are vanquished, do not leave your places. I am ordering you that no man amongst you desert their post. Take care of the cavalry for me.” He commanded

162 One of the affiliate tribes of Quraysh. They were the flagbearers when they would go to war. [IGP-TD]

163 ‘Abdullāh ibn Jubayr ibn Nu‘mān ibn Umayyah al-Awsī al-Anṣārī was born around 35 years before the Hīrah. He was present at the second pledge of al-‘Aqabah and announced his acceptance of Islam there. He participated in Badr and was martyred at Uḥud. [IGP-TD]

them emphatically, but it was from their direction that what happened to the Prophet ﷺ that day was to happen.

When the Prophet ﷺ gave his Companions the order to fight, the flag bearer for the Muhājirūn, who was a Companion of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, said: “I will protect what is with me, Allah willing.”

Ṭalḥah¹⁶⁴ said: “O protector, would you like a duel?”

“Yes”, he replied. He then initiated [the duel] and struck Ṭalḥah’s head with his sword, piercing his jaw and killing him. The killing of the flag bearer of the polytheists was a confirmation of the dream of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: “I was making someone ride behind me on a ram.”

When the flag bearer fell, the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions spread and dispersed into units, seeking out the enemy to kill them until they roused them from their luggage. The cavalry of the polytheists launched three assaults on the Muslims, but each time they were showered with arrows and withdrew dented. Then, the Muslims attacked the polytheists, dealing them a crushing blow.

When the fifty archers saw that Allah ﷻ had granted victory to their brothers, they said: “By Allah, we are sitting here for no reason. Allah has destroyed the enemy, and our brothers are in the camp of the polytheists.”

Groups of them said: “Why are we still lined up in rows when Allah has defeated the enemy?” Thus, they left the positions that the Prophet ﷺ had ordered them not to leave. They debated, lost courage, and disobeyed the Messenger ﷺ, and the cavalry drove them to their deaths, with the majority of them in the encampment.

When these dispersed men saw what the cavalry had done, they gathered together and advanced, and a crier called out: “Behind you! Behind you! The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has been killed!” The Muslims became remorseful and those who were killed were honoured by Allah [with martyrdom] at the hands of the polytheists. The people ascended the mountain pass, not looking back at anyone, but Allah ﷻ made the Prophet ﷺ firm when a number of his Companions fled from him, despite him calling out to them from behind. This lasted until [eventually] a group came to him close to al-Mihrās in the mountain pass.

When they lost the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, one of the men said: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has been killed, so return to your people so that

164 Translator’s note: The flag bearer of the polytheists.

they can keep you safe before they come and kill you, for they are about to enter the houses.”

Others said: “If we had any say in the matter, none of us would have come to die here.”

But others said: “If the Messenger of Allah ﷺ has been killed, should you not fight according to your religion and according to what your Prophet was upon until you meet Allah ﷻ as martyrs?” One of them was Anas ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍr, as Sa’d ibn Mu’ādh later attested to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

It is claimed that it was one of the Banū Qushayr who said: “If we had any say in the matter, none of us would have come to die here.”

The Prophet ﷺ continued to look for his Companions. The polytheists were in his path, and when the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw them already facing him, he said: “O Allah, if You will, no-one on the Earth will defeat You.” Or: “O Allah, if You will, You will not be worshipped.”

The polytheists turned away whilst the Prophet ﷺ called his Companions, ascending the mountain pass. He was accompanied by a steadfast group that included Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubaydillāh and al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām. They had pledged to [support] him until they die, exchanging their lives to defend his, and to fight alongside him until they were killed. [They were] only six or seven individuals, walking around al-Mihrās.

It is said that Ka’b ibn Mālik was the first to recognize the eyes of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ through his helmet after he went missing. He called out: “Come to me! Allah is Greater! This is the Messenger of Allah!” and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, they say, gestured for him to keep quiet.

The face of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was wounded and his incisor was broken.

When Ubayy ibn Khalaf was ransomed, he said: “By Allah, I have a horse that I feed a *faraq*¹⁶⁵ of maize every day, and I will surely kill Muḥammad whilst riding it.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ heard about his vow and said: “Rather, I will kill him, Allah willing.”

Ubayy approached on that horse, disguised in his armour, saying: “May I not survive if Muḥammad survives.” He then attacked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, intending to kill him.

165 Translator’s note: A measurement equal to 12 *mudds*.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah said: Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib said: “A group of believers confronted him, but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed them to let him through. Muṣ‘ab ibn ‘Umayr of the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār came face-to-face with him, shielding the Messenger of Allah ﷺ with his own body. Muṣ‘ab ibn ‘Umayr was consequently killed.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ spotted Ubayy ibn Khalaf’s collarbone through a gap between his gorget and body armour, and so he stabbed him with his lance. Ubayy fell from his horse, but no blood came out from the wound.”

Sa‘īd continues: “One of his ribs cracked. It was about this incident that [the verse], ‘It was not you [believers] who killed them, but it was Allah Who did so’¹⁶⁶ was revealed. His companions came to him as he bellowed like a bull. ‘What is your worry?’ they asked. ‘It is only a scratch.’

He reminded them of the words of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: ‘Rather, I will kill Ubayy.’ Then, he said: ‘By the One in Whose Hand is my soul, if the people of Dhū al-Majāz had what I had, they would all die.’ And so, Ubayy died before reaching Mecca.”

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ caught up with his Companions and they saw him accompanied by Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, and al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ṣimmah of the Banū al-Najjār, the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ thought that it was a group from the enemy, and one of them placed an arrow into his bow, intending to shoot. When they spoke and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ called out to them, however, they recognized him. When they recognized the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, it was as if they had never experienced any hardship.

Whilst they were in this state, Shayṭān came to them with his subversion, whispering, and causing sorrow, when they saw that their enemy had escaped. As they were remembering their brothers that had been killed, asking one another about close friends [that had been lost], and informing each other of the martyred, their sadness increased. Then, Allah returned the polytheists to them and caused them to worry regarding them, to remove their grief thereby. Suddenly, their enemies took position above them on the mountain. And with that, they forgot their gloom and sorrow for their brothers.

Then, after distress, Allah sent down serenity in the form of drowsiness

166 *al-Anfāl*, 17.

overcoming some of them.

As Allah ﷻ says: "...whilst others were disturbed by evil thoughts about Allah – the thoughts of [pre-Islamic] Ignorance...They say [to themselves], 'If we had any say in the matter, none of us would have come to die here.'"¹⁶⁷

Allah ﷻ says: "Say, [O Prophet,] 'Even if you were to remain in your homes, those amongst you who were destined to be killed would have met the same fate.' Through this, Allah tests what is within you and purifies what is in your hearts. And Allah knows best what is [hidden] in the heart."¹⁶⁸

There were two times of distress, and this was the latter. The first was when they ascended the mountain pass defeated, but their fear of being pursued by the enemy and fighting them made them forget the defeat.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "O Allah, it is not for them to overpower us today." Then, the Messenger of Allah supplicated and summoned his Companions. Consequently, a band of them answered his call and ascended the mountain path until they came on equal level with the enemy. They fired arrows at them, piercing them and forcing them down off the mountain. The polytheists then retreated towards the slain Muslims and mutilated them, severing their ears, noses, and genitals, and cutting open their stomachs. All the while they believed they had bested the Prophet ﷺ and his elite Companions. After that, they reassembled and arranged their fighters in rows. Abū Sufyān said: "A battle in return for Badr, and battle has its vicissitudes. You will find some of your slain have been mutilated. I did not command that, but I do not disapprove either." He then said: "Be elevated, O Hubal!", boasting about his gods.

‘Umar ؓ said: "Listen, O Messenger of Allah, to what the enemy of Allah are saying." The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: "Call out to them and say: 'Allah is Loftier and More Exalted. They are not the same: our slain are in Paradise and your slain are in the Fire.'" They said: "We have al-'Uzzā (the idol) and you have no 'uzzā (honour)." The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied (through ‘Umar): "Allah is our Protector and you have no protector!"

Then, they called [the Prophet] Muḥammad ﷺ by his name. When they

167 Āl ‘Imrān, 154.

168 Āl ‘Imrān, 154.

realized that he was alive, and then called out to honourable Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and realized that they too were alive, Allah subdued them and they retreated to their goods, with the Muslims not knowing their intent. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "If you see them riding the horses and moving their luggage behind their horses, they intend to approach the houses and citadels that contain the children and women, and I swear by Allah that if they do so, I will fight them right in the middle [of the town]. And if you see them ride their goods (i.e., their camels) and keep their horses to the side, then they intend to flee."

When they turned their backs, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ to follow them, saying: "Inform us of their situation."

Sa'd proceeded quickly until he found out what they were doing. Then, he returned and said: "I saw their horses fleeing towards the south, and I saw the people heading off having laden their camels [with their goods]."

The people were thus calmed by the departure of the enemy, and they spread out to search for their dead. Every slain person they found had been mutilated except for Ḥanzalah ibn Abi 'Āmir, whose father was a polytheist and so had been left. They say that his father stood over him after he had been slain and pushed his chest with his foot, saying: "Two sins you committed. I had told you about your dying like this, O Dubays. By God's Existence, you maintained the ties of kinship and were dutiful to your father."

They found that Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, had his stomach cut open and his liver removed. Waḥshī¹⁶⁹ had taken it after he had killed him and carried it to Hind bint 'Utbah to fulfil a vow she had made after Ḥamzah had killed her father at Badr.

The Muslims went to bury their dead. Ḥamzah was buried in a striped garment he had been wearing. When they lifted it to his head, his legs became exposed, and when they pulled it down to his legs, his face became exposed. So, they used some branches and stones for his legs and covered his face [with the garment].

Mūsā continues:

Ibn Shihāb said: "When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had finished burying

169 Waḥshī ibn Ḥarb was a former slave of Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im. He later entered Islam. However, the hurt of the Prophet ﷺ over this incident remained and he requested that he not enter his presence where he could see him.

the martyrs, he said: 'Wrap them with their wounds, for no wound sustained for the sake of Allah ﷺ will come on the Day of Judgement except that it is still bleeding; its colour will be that of blood and its scent will be that of musk.' Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: 'I will be the witness for these people on the Day of Judgement.'"

Thereafter, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood up for them to be buried under his watch. They were not washed or subject to the usual prayer for the deceased, and they were not buried in anything besides the clothes in which they were killed. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, as they were buried as a group in one pit: "Who amongst them knew the most Qur'an?" When one of the men was pointed out to him, he was placed in the grave ahead of his companions, [and this continued] until their burial was complete.

The women of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār came out, carrying water and food on their backs. One of them was Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. When she saw her father and the blood on him, she hugged him and started wiping the blood from his face, as the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "The Anger of Allah is intensified upon a people who bloody the face of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and the Anger of Allah is intensified upon a man whom the Messenger of Allah ﷺ kills."

Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Sā'idī narrated: "The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: 'O Allah, forgive my people, for they do not know.'"

Ibn Shihāb said: "That day, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was shot by a man from the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd Manāt called Ibn Qamī'ah. Others said it was in fact 'Utbah ibn Abī Waqqāṣ."

THE BATTLE OF UḤUD [CONTINUED]

‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ﷺ went to Mihrās. He said to Fāṭimah: “Keep this sword without any blame”, and brought some water in a shield.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went to drink from it, but found that it had a smell. He said: “This water is foul”, and only rinsed his mouth with it. Fāṭimah washed the blood from her father. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw ‘Alī’s sword stained with blood, he said: “If you fought valiantly, then ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn al-Aqlaḥ, al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ṣimmah, and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf also did so.” Then, he said: “Tell me about the people: what did they do and where did most of them go?” And he also said: “The polytheists will never be able to afflict us like this again unless we give them the opportunity.”

Thereafter, they returned to their homes. Abū Sufyān and the polytheists had called out to them that the [next] meeting between them would be the festival of Badr, which was a fair that took place at Badr every year. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Say yes to them.”

So, they said: “Yes, we will do so.”

“That is the appointment”, Abū Sufyān replied.

They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ presented his sword that day and said: “Who will take this by its due right?”

“What is its due right?” the Companions asked.

“To strike with it when one meets the enemy”, he replied.

‘Umar said, it is claimed: “I will take it”, but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ disregarded him.

Then, he presented it for a second time. Al-Zubayr said: “I will take it”, but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ disregarded him.

‘Umar and al-Zubayr felt upset about this in their hearts. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then presented it for a third time with the same condition. Abū Dujānah Simāk ibn Kharashah of the Banū Sā‘idah said: “I will take it, O Messenger of Allah, by its due right”, and so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ handed it over to him. When Abū Dujānah met the enemy, he was true to his word and gave the sword its due right.

They say that Ka‘b ibn Mālik narrated: “I was amongst the Muslims who went out. When I saw the polytheists’ mutilation of the deceased Muslims, I stood and then moved on to see a man from the polytheists, in all his armour, passing by the Muslims and saying: ‘Come together like scabby sheep.’ But then I saw a Muslim man wearing his armour and standing in wait for him. I carried on until I was behind him and then

stood to visually compare the Muslim with the disbeliever, concluding that the disbeliever was more prepared and in a better condition. I continued waiting for them until they finally met. The Muslim delivered a blow to the disbeliever with his sword, striking him between the neck and shoulder all the way down to his hip and splitting him in two. Uncovering his face, the Muslim then said: 'What do you reckon, O Ka'b? I am Abū Dujānah.'

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ entered the alleyways of Medina, there was wailing and sobbing in the houses. "What is this?" he asked.

"These are the women of the Anṣār, weeping over their dead", they replied.

A woman came carrying her son and husband on a camel, having tied them with a rope and riding between them. Others who were slain were also carried back and buried in the graveyards of Medina. However, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ prohibited transporting them, saying: "Bury them wherever they were killed."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said when he heard the weeping: "But there is no-one weeping for Ḥamzah", and sought forgiveness for him. Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, Mu'adh ibn Jabal, and 'Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah heard that, and they went to their homes and gathered every wailer and weeper in Medina, saying: "By Allah, you will not weep for the slain of the Anṣār until you weep for the uncle of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, for he has mentioned that there is no-one in Medina weeping for him."

They say that the one who brought the wailers was 'Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ heard the weeping, he said: "What is this?"

He was informed of what the Anṣār did with their women. He sought forgiveness for them and spoke kindly to them, being pleased with those who commanded what pleased the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

"That is not what I meant. I do not like weeping", the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied, and he forbade it. The Prophet ﷺ said: "There are three practices of Jāhiliyyah that my nation will not abandon: wailing over the dead, disparaging regarding lineage, and saying, 'This rain is due to such-and-such star'. It is not due to a star; it is only the bestowal and provision of Allah ﷻ."

With the weeping of the Muslims, the Hypocrites began plotting, causing people to split from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and dampening the spirits of the Muslims, and the treachery of the Jews became apparent.

Medina boiled over with hypocrisy like a cauldron, and the duplicity and deceit they had been concealing was made apparent when the Muslims were weeping.

The Jews said: "If he was a Prophet, then he would not have been overcome, and what happened to him would not have happened. Rather, he seeks sovereignty, with the tables turning in his favour on one occasion and against him on another. That is the case of people who seek worldly gains without Prophethood."

The Hypocrites uttered something similar, and they said to the Muslims: "If you had obeyed us, they would not have afflicted you as they did."

A man from the people of Mecca came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, so he asked him about Abū Sufyān and his companions. He said: "I alighted by them and heard them blaming each other, saying to one another: 'You did not do anything. You struck the might of the enemy, but then left them without finishing them off totally. There are still some heads remaining who are assembling against you.'"

The Prophet ﷺ instructed his Companions, who were severely depleted, to pursue the enemy in order to hear it [for themselves]. He said: "Only those who participated in the battle will go with me."

"I will ride with you", 'Abdullāh ibn Ubayy said.

"No", he replied.

Despite the hardship they were enduring, they responded to the call of Allah and His Messenger ﷺ and went.

Allah ﷻ said in His Book: "[As for] those who responded to the call of Allah and His Messenger after their injury, those of them who did good and were mindful [of Allah] will have a great reward."¹⁷⁰

Jābir ibn 'Abdillāh al-Salīmī came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: "O Messenger of Allah, my father sent me back after I had come out with you to participate in the battle at Uhud and implored me not to leave our women. His only hope when he advised me to return was that which afflicted him in battle, namely to be killed, and so Allah caused him to die as a martyr. He wanted me to live for the sake of his descendants. I do not want you to go in any direction but that I am with you, and I hate for only those who participated in the battle to be summoned to accompany you,

170 Āl 'Imrān, 172.

so permit me.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ granted him permission.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ pursued the enemy as far as Ḥamrā’ al-Asad.

The Qur’an came down concerning the obedience of those who obeyed, the hypocrisy of those who were duplicitous, the consolation of the Muslims, and the full story of their battles, and the Messenger ﷺ setting out in the early morning. Allah said: “[Remember, O Prophet,] when you left your home in the early morning to position the believers in the battlefield. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.”¹⁷¹ Then, what follows this verse regarding the story of their mission, up to: “Indeed, those [believers] who fled on the day when the two armies met were made to slip by Shayṭān because of their misdeeds. But Allah has pardoned them. Surely Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Forbearing”¹⁷² as well as seven verses after it.

The group who fled were two men from the Banū Zurayq, Sa’d ibn ‘Uthmān and his brother ‘Uqbah ibn ‘Uthmān, and a man from the Muhājirūn. They fled until they reached Bīr Jarm, but Allah then pardoned them.

Moreover, the Muslims considered the affliction that befell them in the Battle of Uḥud to be colossal, especially considering that in Badr they had inflicted twice as many casualties on the polytheists. Regarding that, Allah revealed, “Why is it when you suffered casualties [at Uḥud] – although you had made your enemy suffer twice as much [at Badr] – you protested, ‘How could this be?’ Say, [O Prophet,] ‘It is because of your disobedience.’ Surely Allah is Most Capable of everything”¹⁷³ and the verses after it.

THE NAMES OF THE MUSLIMS WHO WERE KILLED ALONGSIDE THE PROPHET ﷺ AT THE BATTLE OF UḤUD

The Muslims who were killed alongside the Messenger of Allah ﷺ at the Battle of Uḥud were:

From the Quraysh then the Banū Hāshim ibn ‘Abd Manāf, five individuals:

171 Āl ‘Imrān, 121.

172 Āl ‘Imrān, 155.

173 Āl ‘Imrān, 165.

- Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He was killed by Waḥshī, a servant of ‘Utbah ibn Ghazwān.

From the Banū Umayyah ibn ‘Abd Shams:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn Jaḥsh.

From the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy:

- Muṣ‘ab ibn ‘Umayr.

From the Banū Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā:

- Sa‘d, a servant of Ḥāṭib.

From the Banū Makhzūm ibn Yaḳazah:

- Shammās ibn ‘Uthmān ibn al-Sharīd.

And from the Anṣār then the Banū Salimah, seven individuals:

- ‘Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥarām. Khallād ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Jamūḥ.
- Abū Ayman, a servant of theirs.
- Sahl ibn Qays ibn Abī Ka‘b.
- Sulaym ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥadīdah.
- A servant of theirs called Yasār. Others said he was a servant of Sulaym.

From the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf ibn al-Khazraj, six individuals:

- Al-Nu‘mān ibn Mālik ibn Tha‘labah, who had a limp.
- ‘Ubādah ibn al-Khashkhāsh.
- ‘Abbās ibn ‘Ubādah ibn Naḍlah.
- Al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād.
- Rifā‘ah ibn ‘Amr.
- Nawfal ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Sinān.

From the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, seven individuals:

- Khārijah ibn Zayd ibn Abī Zuhayr.
- Zayd ibn Fushūm.
- Sa‘d ibn Rabī‘.
- Mālik ibn Sinān ibn Tha‘labah, of the Banū Khudrah, and he was the father of Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī.

- Aws ibn Arqam.
- Sa'īd ibn Suwayd.

From the Banū Zurayq, two men:

- Dhakwān ibn 'Abd Qays.
- 'Ubayd ibn al-Mu'allā.

From the Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf, five individuals:

- Ḥanzalah ibn Abi 'Āmir, who was washed by the Angels.
- Abū Sufyān ibn al-Ḥārith.
- Unays ibn Qatādah.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Jubayr.
- 'Abdullāh ibn Salimah.

From the Banū al-Najjār, nine individuals:

- Sulaym ibn al-Ḥārith.
- 'Uthmān ibn 'Amr.
- 'Umārah ibn Makhlad.
- Abū Hubayrah ibn al-Ḥārith.
- 'Amr ibn Muṭarrif ibn 'Alqamah.
- Anas ibn 'Alqamah.
- Aws ibn al-Mundhir.
- Qays ibn Mukhallad.
- Mālīk ibn Iyās.

From the Banū Sā'idah, four individuals:

- Tha'labah ibn Sa'd ibn Mālīk.
- Al-Aḥrash, whose name is Nuqayb ibn Farwah.
- 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr.
- 'Ubayd ibn Mas'ūd.

From the Banū Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr, one man:

- Abū al-Khaṭṭāb.

From the Banū al-Nabīṭ, thirteen men:

- Al-Ḥārith ibn Aws ibn Rāfi'.
- Salamah ibn Thābit ibn Waqsh.
- 'Amr ibn Thābit ibn Waqsh.
- 'Amr ibn Mu'adh.

- ‘Umārah ibn Ziyād.
- ‘Abbād ibn Sahl.
- ‘Ubayd ibn al-Tayahān.
- Ṣayfi ibn Qayzī.
- Rawāḥah ibn Qass.
- Ḥabīb ibn Zayd.
- Iyās ibn Aws.
- Ḥubāb ibn Qayzī.
- Al-Yamān Abū Ḥudhayfah, whose name is Ḥusayl ibn Jubayr, an ally of theirs from the Banū ‘Abs. It is said that he was [unintentionally] killed by the Muslims during the battle, and they did not know who struck the fatal blow. So, Ḥudhayfah voluntarily paid the blood money on behalf of whoever struck him.

Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah said: Ibn Shihāb said: “‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr said: ‘The Muslims mistook him that day and slashed him with their swords, thinking he was from the enemy. Ḥudhayfah was saying: “My father! My father!” but they could not understand his words until they were finished with him. Ḥudhayfah said (quoting Prophet Yūsuf): “May Allah forgive you. He is the Most Merciful of the merciful.”’” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ paid his blood money and Ḥudhayfah increased in goodness in his sight.

The total number of Muslims from the Quraysh and Anṣār martyred at the Battle of Uḥud, therefore, was fifty-nine.

Polytheists from the Quraysh who were killed:

From the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy:

- Abū Sa‘īd ibn Abī Ṭalḥah. He was killed by ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.
- Musāfi‘ ibn Abī Ṭalḥah.
- Abū Arṭāh ibn ‘Abd Shuraḥbīl ibn Hāshim.
- Ṭalḥah ibn Abī Ṭalḥah. Abū Ṭalḥah’s name was ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā.
- Ṣu‘āb. Sa‘d struck his right hand and cut it off, so he took the [war] flag in his left. Then Sa‘d also struck that hand and cut it off, so he clasped the flag to himself with his forearms. Sa‘d pushed the end of the bow between his body armour and helmet, lifting it off him. He then struck him until he killed him. Regarding him, Ḥassān ibn Thābit said when they were boasting:

“You were boasting about the flag; and the worst thing to boast about is a flag on the day it went to Şu’ab.”

From the Banū Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥumayd ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Asad.

From the Banū Zuhrah ibn Kilāb, two men:

- Abū al-Ḥakam ibn al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq ibn ‘Ilāj.
- Sibā’ ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā. He was killed by Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā’s name was Naḍlah ibn Ghubshān ibn Sulaym ibn Malkān ibn Afṣā, an ally of theirs from Khuzā’ah.

From the Banū Makhzūm, four individuals:

- Hishām ibn Abī Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Al-Walīd ibn al-‘Āṣ ibn Hishām ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Abū Umayyah ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Mughīrah.
- Khālīd ibn al-A‘lam, an ally of theirs.

From the Banū Jumah, two men:

- ‘Amr ibn ‘Abdillāh, who is Abū ‘Azzah.
- Ubayy ibn Khalaf. He either died in Mecca or on the path due to a stab wound the Messenger of Allah ﷺ inflicted on him.

From the Banū ‘Āmir ibn Lu’ayy then the Banū Mālīk ibn Ḥisl, two men:

- ‘Ubaydah ibn Jābir ibn Naḍr.
- Al-Sā’ib ibn Mālīk ibn al-Maḍrūb.

The total number of polytheists killed at the Battle of Uḥud, therefore, was sixteen.

THE BATTLE OF BADR BY THE APPOINTMENT OF ABŪ SUFYĀN IBN ḤARB

Next, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered the Muslims to march out for the meeting with Abū Sufyān at Badr; Abū Sufyān was given to being truthful and fulfilling his word. Thereafter, Shayṭān roused his allies amongst men who went amongst the people to frighten them. They said: “We, as well as you, have been informed people like the night have assembled for you. They are hoping they will encounter you and plunder you. Be warned; do not be fooled.”

But Allah saved the believers from the frightening of Shayṭān and they responded to Allah ﷻ and His Messenger, leaving with some of their goods and saying: “If we meet Abū Sufyān – he is the one for whom we have come out. But if we do not meet him, we will sell our goods.” Badr was a trade fair that was held every year.

They travelled until they came to the fair at Badr and fulfilled whatever they needed there. However, Abū Sufyān breached his appointment, and neither he nor his companions came out.

A man from the Banū Ḍamrah¹⁷⁴ who had a treaty with the Muslims came and said: “By Allah, we had been informed that none of you survived. What made you come to the people at this fair?” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ, wanting the man to convey this message to his enemies amongst the Quraysh, said: “The appointment with Abū Sufyān and his companions and to fight them made us come here. If you want, we can also throw your treaty back to you and your people. Then, we shall fight you before we leave this place where we have lodged.” The Ḍamrī man said: “Allah forbid! Rather, we will restrain our hands from you and hold firm to your treaty.”

It is said that Ibn Ḥumām passed by them and asked: “Who are they?”

They said: “The Messenger of Allah and his Companions. They are waiting for Abū Sufyān and those accompanying him from the Quraysh.”

So, he went out reciting [the following verses of poetry]:

“She is hastening towards the ancient religion of her forefathers,
When she fled from the two companies of Muḥammad,

174 One of the ‘Adnānī Arab tribal federations and one of the member clans of the Kinānah tribe.

And an *'ajwah* date thrown like a stone;
When she made the water of Qudayd my meeting place,
Coming to its water on the morning of the following day.”

They mention that Ibn al-Ḥumām went to the Quraysh and said: “Here are Muḥammad and his Companions waiting for you to show up for your appointment.” “He has, by Allah, spoken the truth”, said Abū Sufyān. So, they went forth and amassed wealth. They supported those of them who showed eagerness but no less than an *ūqiyyah* was accepted from any of them.

He then travelled until he lodged at Majannah¹⁷⁵, ‘Uṣfān for as long as Allah wished him to stay, and consulted with his companions. Abū Sufyān said: “Nothing is suitable for you besides a year of herbage in which you graze on acacia and drink milk.” Thereafter, he returned to Mecca and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ left for Medina by the Blessing and Favour of Allah. This expedition was known as the Battle of the Army of al-Sawīq (a type of flour)¹⁷⁶, and took place in Sha‘bān, 3 AH.

This is the Incident When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ Went to the Banū al-Naḍīr to Seek their Help Regarding the Blood-Money for the Two Men of the Banū Kilāb

They say that they (i.e., the Banū al-Naḍīr) had secretly made their way to the Quraysh when they had stopped at Uḥud to fight the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, urging them to fight and pointing out the vulnerable points. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ spoke to them regarding the blood money of the two people from the Banū Kilāb, they said: “Take a seat, O Abū al-Qāsim, so you can eat and return with your need. We shall leave to consult and settle the matter for which you have come to us.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Companions with him sat in the shade of a wall, waiting for them (i.e., the Banū al-Naḍīr) to settle their matter. Once they were alone – Shayṭān being with them all the while and not parting from them – they consulted each other regarding killing the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. They said: “You will never find him any closer than he is now, so get rid of him – you will be at peace in your lands and

175 Also called Sūq Majannah. It was one of the three largest markets for the Arabs in Jāhiliyyah.

176 Translator’s note: the Quraysh dropped flour in order to lighten their loads as they fled from the Muslims.

be relieved of calamity.” A man amongst them said: “If you want, I can climb the roof of the house he is sitting under and drop a stone on him, and Allah will thus kill him.”

Then, Allah sent Revelation to him and informed him of what they were conspiring against him, and in this way, Allah protected him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then stood as though he was going to relieve himself, leaving his Companions sitting in their seats. The enemies of Allah waited for him but he delayed in coming to them. A man from Medina came, and he was asked about him (i.e., the Prophet ﷺ). He said: “I met him just as he entered the streets of Medina.” They said to his Companions: “Abū al-Qāsim¹⁷⁷ has rushed off and did not stay for our decision regarding his need.”

The Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood to return. [A portion of the] Qurʾān was revealed – and Allah knows best what the enemies of Allah intended – saying: “O believers! Remember Allah’s favour upon you: when a people sought to harm you, but He held their hands back from you. Be mindful of Allah. And in Allah let the believers put their trust.”¹⁷⁸

So, when Allah ﷻ disclosed to His Messenger ﷺ what they had intended with him and their treachery, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered for them to be banished and expelled from their homes. He ordered them to go wherever they wanted, to which they said, at a time when the Hypocrites had spread in Medina: “Whereto are you expelling us?” He replied: “I am expelling you towards the gathering.”

When the Hypocrites heard what was being intended for their brothers and allies amongst the People of the Book, they called for them and said: “We are surely with you in life and death. If you are fought, we owe you our support; and if you are expelled, we shall not lag behind you.” The leader of the Jews was the father of Ṣafīyyah, Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab. On trusting the promises of the Hypocrites, their heedlessness grew and Shayṭān gave them false hopes of victory, and so they called out to the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions: “By Allah, we are not going to leave. And if you fight us, we will surely fight you back.”

The Prophet ﷺ implemented the command of Allah regarding them

¹⁷⁷ The famous epithet of the Prophet ﷺ.

¹⁷⁸ *al-Mā'idah*, 11.

and ordered his Companions to take their weapons, and then headed towards them. The Jews – the enemies of Allah – had fortified themselves in their homes and fortresses. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ reached their streets and fortresses, he disliked giving them the opportunity to fight within their homes and fortresses. Allah ﷻ safeguarded his matter for him and determined success for him. The Prophet ﷺ thus ordered that the closest of their houses be destroyed one by one and that their date palms be burnt and cut down. Allah ﷻ restrained their hands and the hands of the Hypocrites, who did not help them, and Allah ﷻ struck fear into the hearts of both groups.

Moreover, whenever the Messenger of Allah ﷺ would retire from demolishing what was nearest to their town, Allah struck fear into their hearts. So, they demolished the homes they were in from the rear, but were unable to march out against the Prophet ﷺ when his Companions were demolishing the first houses they came across. The Jews were about to reach the last of their homes, all the while waiting for the Hypocrites and what they had promised them.

But when they lost all hope in them, they requested the Messenger of Allah ﷺ for his initial proposal to them. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ came to an agreement with them that he shall exile them, allowing them to take whatever belongings their camels could carry, besides armour and weapons.

They fled in every direction and travelled to every place possible. The Banū Abū al-Ḥuqayq went to Khaybar, taking with them many silver utensils which the Prophet ﷺ, his Companions, and the Muslims saw as they were leaving with them.

Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab proceeded to the Quraysh in Mecca, inciting them against the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and asking for their support.

Allah made clear to His Messenger ﷺ the matter of the Hypocrites and what had transpired between them and the Jews. The Jews were taunting the Muslims when they were demolishing the homes and cutting the trees, saying: “What wrong have the trees done? And you claim to be reformers?”

Allah ﷻ then revealed: “Whatever is in the Heavens and whatever is on the Earth glorifies Allah. For He is the Almighty, All-Wise. He is the One Who expelled the disbelievers of the People of the Book from their homes for [their] first banishment [ever]. You never thought they would go. And they thought their strongholds would put them out of Allah’s

reach. But [the decree of] Allah came upon them from where they never expected. And He cast horror into their hearts so they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers. So take a lesson [from this], O people of insight! Had Allah not decreed exile for them, He would have certainly punished them in this world. And in the Hereafter they will suffer the punishment of the Fire. This is because they defied Allah and His Messenger. And whoever defies Allah, then Allah is truly severe in punishment. Whatever palm trees you [believers] cut down or left standing intact, it was [all] by Allah's Will, so that He might disgrace the rebellious.”¹⁷⁹

Then, He made it spoils for the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, not allocating a share to anyone other than him. Allah said: “As for the gains Allah has turned over to His Messenger from them – you did not [even] spur on any horse or camel for such gains. But Allah gives authority to His Messengers over whoever He wills. For Allah is Most Capable of everything.”¹⁸⁰

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ divided it amongst those Allah made him see from the senior Muhājirūn and gave from it to two men from the Anṣār: Simāk ibn Aws ibn Kharashah, also known as Abū Dujānah, and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf. He also gave, they say, the sword of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq to Sa'd ibn Mu'adh.

The expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍir took place in Muḥarram, 3 AH.

The Banū Qurayẓah stayed in their homes in Medina, and the Messenger ﷺ did not order for them to be fought or expelled until Allah exposed them through Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab and the confederates.

Ḥuyayy had gone to the polytheists and informed them that his clan were coming and going in their lands and awaiting the reinforcements with him, having spent their wealth and made full preparations.

179 *al-Ḥashr*, 1-5.

180 *al-Ḥashr*, 6.

THE BATTLE OF THE TRENCH

Abū Sufyān, the Quraysh, and those who followed them from the Arab polytheists marched out, accompanied by Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab. They summoned ‘Uyaynah ibn Badr who came forth bringing those who obeyed him from the Ghaṭafān and the Banū Abī al-Ḥuqayq.

Kinānah ibn al-Rabī‘ ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq also set out, endeavouring with the Ghaṭafān and urging them to fight, with the promise of receiving half of the produce of Khaybar each year.

It is claimed that al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Awf of the Banū Murrah said to ‘Uyaynah ibn Badr and the Ghaṭafān: “O people, obey me and abandon fighting this man; leave him to his Arab adversaries.”

But Shayṭān overcame them and their greed destroyed them. They carried out ‘Uyaynah’s instruction to fight the Prophet ﷺ and wrote to their allies from [the Banū] Asad. Ṭulayḥah was one of those who came forward from the Banū Asad – Asad and Ghaṭafān being allies – and the Quraysh wrote to the eminent men amongst the Banū Sulaym with whom they had kinship ties. Abū al-A‘war was one of those who came forward from the Banū Sulaym to reinforce the Quraysh.

At the end of the two years, Abū Sufyān set out with the Arab tribes that followed him, Abū al-A‘war with his followers from the Banū Sulaym, and ‘Uyaynah ibn Badr with a large group. These are the ones Allah ﷻ called “al-Aḥzāb (The Confederates)”.

When the Prophet ﷺ learned of their departure, he began digging the trench, and the Muslims went out with him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ put his hand to work alongside them. They worked hastily, racing against the arrival of the enemy. The Muslims thought that the Prophet ﷺ was labouring with them to make them more hardworking and to strengthen them, by the permission of Allah, and so a man would laugh at his companion if he saw him slacken. The Prophet ﷺ said: “No one should get angry today on account of any poetry which someone recites, as long as he does not say as Ka‘b or Ḥassān say; they find a great deal of such words.” He forbade the two of them from saying anything that would upset anyone.

They mentioned that they encountered a rock during their digging. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ took a pickaxe from one of them and struck the rock three times, breaking it on the third strike. It is said that Salmān al-Fārisī saw a flash of light bolt in three different directions with each

strike, each time followed by Salmān's gaze. Salmān mentioned this to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: "I saw something like lightning or the wave of water with each strike, O Messenger of Allah. One went towards the east, another towards the Levant, and another towards Yemen."

"Did you really see that, O Salmān?" the Prophet ﷺ asked.

"Yes, I saw it, O Messenger of Allah", he replied.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "In one of them (i.e., the strikes of the pickaxe) the cities of Khosrow and that land were clearly shown to me; in another, the cities of the Romans and the Levant; and in another, the cities of Yemen and its palaces. What you saw indicates that victory will reach these places, Allah willing."

Salmān used to narrate these statements from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

Salmān was a strong man. After the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had delegated [people] to each side of the trench, the Muhājirūn said: "O Salmān, dig with us!"

A man from the Anṣār said: "No-one has more right to him than us!"

News of this reached the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He said: "Indeed, Salmān is part of us, the Household (Ahl al-Bayt)¹⁸¹."

ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "When al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī, the Liar of Sanaa, was killed by Fayrūz al-Daylamī, some of their people – having accepted Islam – came to the Messenger of Allah.

"O Messenger of Allah, who are we?" they asked.

"You are affiliated to us, the Household, and a part of us", he replied.

When they had finished digging their trench, which was in Shawwāl, 4 AH, also known as the Year of the Confederates and the Year of the Trench, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb came forth, accompanied by the polytheists of the Quraysh and his followers from the people of misguidance. They lodged at the top of the valley of Qanāt from the direction of al-Ghābah. The Banū Qurayẓah closed their fortress, seeing Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab as a bad omen.

They said: "Do not be a part of this people in any way, for you do not

181 The People of the House of the Prophet ﷺ. They have certain rulings, such as not being able to consume charity. Traditionally, the Ahl al-Kisā, or those upon whom the Prophet ﷺ placed his cloak on one occasion, are ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn ﷺ; all the aforementioned are considered to be from the Ahl al-Bayt. The inclusion of Salmān ﷺ in this list is honorary. [IGP-TD]

know who will have the turn of fortune. Ḥuyayy has already destroyed his own people, so stay away from him.” Ḥuyayy approached the gate of their fortress, which was closed. The leader of the Jews at that time was Ka’b ibn Asad. “Where is Ka’b?” Ḥuyayy asked.

“He is not here. He went out for an errand of his”, Ka’b’s wife replied.

“Rather, he is with you, stooping over his bowl and eating from it, and not wanting anyone to join him for dinner”, Ḥuyayy said.

“Let him in. He is inauspicious”, Ka’b said. “By Allah, he is not visiting us for anything positive.”

Ḥuyayy entered and said: “By Allah, I am bringing you honour forever if you do not leave me to be remembered. I have come with the Quraysh and their associates, and I have driven the two allies to you: [the Banū] Asad and Ghaṭafān.”

Ka’b ibn Asad said: “The example of me and what you have brought me is like a cloud that has emptied its rain and then floated onward. Woe to you, O Ḥuyayy! Leave us with our treaty with this man, for I have never seen any man more truthful and loyal than Muḥammad and his Companions. By Allah, he has not forced a religion upon us or seized our wealth, and we have no complaint about Muḥammad or his treaty with us. You are calling us to destruction. So, we exhort you in Allah’s name, unless you exempt us on your own accord.” Ḥuyayy replied: “By Allah, I will not do so. Muḥammad will not be able to recover from it until the Day of Requitā, and neither us nor these troops will leave until he dies.”

‘Amr ibn Sa’d al-Qurazī said: “O assembly of Jews, you vowed to Muḥammad the things of which you are aware: to not deceive him or aid his enemies against him, and to assist him against anyone who attacks Yathrib. So, fulfil your vow to him. If you do not, then leave him to his adversaries and move away from them.”

Ḥuyayy kept at them until he won them over. Their [entire] assembly agreed to the treachery upon the orders of one man, except for the Banū Sa’yah: [the Banū] Asad, [the Banū] Asīd, and [the Banū] Tha’labah, who – they say – went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

They (i.e., the Jews) said: “O Ḥuyayy, go to your companions, for we do not trust them. [See] if they can give us hostages from all the nobles who have come with them and who will stay with us. If they are ready to fight Muḥammad and his Companions, we shall set out with the seventy [hostages] and ride their shoulders. If they will do that, seal the agreement between us and them.”

Ḥuyayy then went to the Quraysh who agreed to give him seventy hostages. They tore up the treaty that had existed between them and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, declared war on the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and took protection in their fortresses. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out and prepared his Companions for battle.

The polytheists in effect besieged them for nearly twenty nights and from every direction, to the extent that a person was not even sure if they had completed their prayer or not. They dispatched a huge battalion towards the residence of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and they fought them for an entire day until night. When the time for the 'Aṣr prayer arrived, the battalion drew near, and neither the Prophet ﷺ nor any of the Companions with him were able to perform the prayer as they wanted. By night, the battalion retreated, and they mention that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "They distracted us from the 'Aṣr prayer; may Allah fill their bellies and hearts with fire."

As the hardship facing the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions intensified, many people began to show hypocrisy and speak ill. Seeing the distress amongst the people, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ began to give them glad tidings, saying: "By the One in Whose Hand is my soul, you will be relieved of the hardship you are experiencing. I hope to circumambulate the Ancient House in safety and that Allah ﷻ will give me the keys to the Ka'bah. Certainly, Allah will destroy Caesar¹⁸² and Khosrow¹⁸³ and their treasures will be spent in the way of Allah."

Some men who were with him said to his Companions: "Are you not amazed that Muḥammad is promising us that we will circumambulate the Ancient House and that the treasures of the Persians and Romans will be distributed amongst us, whilst we are here not feeling safe to even go to relieve ourselves? By Allah, he is promising us nothing but delusion!"

Others with him said: "Give us permission [to leave], for our homes are exposed."

Others said: "O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Sa'd ibn Mu'adh of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, 'Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah, and Khawwāt ibn

182 Caesar, here, refers to the head of the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire.

183 The king of Persia.

Jubayr to the Banū Qurayzah to speak to them and remind them of their treaty. They approached the gate of the Banū Qurayzah's fortress and were let in, and they called upon them to renew their alliance. "Now? When our wing is broken?" the Banū Qurayzah responded, referring to the Banū al-Naḍir.

Then, they expelled them, severely insulting the Prophet ﷺ. Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah began to insult them back, which angered them. Sa'd ibn Mu'adh said to Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah: "By Allah, we did not come here for this, and the issue between us is now more [severe] than merely exchanging insults."

Sa'd ibn Mu'adh then called out to them, saying: "You know well what is between us and you, O Banū Qurayzah, and I fear for you something like the Battle of the Banū al-Naḍir, or similar."

"Eat your father's penis!" they replied.

"Another response would have been more graceful and better than this", Sa'd retorted. After giving up on them, they returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He noticed their displeasure at what they had brought back in their facial expressions. "What is the matter?" he asked.

"We are coming to you from the filthiest of the creation of Allah and the greatest in enmity towards Allah and His Messenger", they replied, informing him of what they had said. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed them to keep what had happened a secret.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ left and went to his Companions, who were in the midst of an intense test, fearing even more than they did on the day of Uhud. When they saw the Messenger of Allah ﷺ approaching, they asked: "What news do you bring, O Messenger of Allah?"

"Good. Be glad", he replied. Then, he covered himself in his cloak, and lay down for a long time. When they saw the Messenger of Allah ﷺ lying down, their fear intensified, and they realized that it was not good news that had come to him from the Banū Qurayzah. Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ raised his head and said: "Glad tidings, O people. Glad tidings of the Victory and Help of Allah."

The next morning, the two sides approached one another, and arrows and stones were thrown between them. Ibn Shihāb said: "Sa'īd ibn al-Muṣayyib said: 'The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "O Allah, I ask of You Your covenant and Your pledge. O Allah, if You wish, You shall not be worshipped.'""

Nawfal ibn 'Abdillāh al-Makhzūmī, who was one of the polytheists, approached on a horse of his to breach the trench, but he fell into the

trench. Allah ﷻ killed him and subdued the polytheists as a result, this being distressful for them. They sent a message to the Messenger ﷺ, saying: “We will give you blood money in return for handing over his body so that we can bury him.”

The Prophet ﷺ replied to them: “He was filthy, and his blood money is filthy. Allah cursed him and cursed his body. We have no desire for his blood money, and we are not preventing you from burying him.”

Sa’d ibn Mu’adh was shot that day – they say – by Ḥibbān ibn Qays of the Banū ‘Āmir ibn Lu’ayy then the Banū al-‘Ariqah, severing the median vein in his arm. Others say that it was Abū Usāmah al-Jushamī, an ally of the Banū Makhzūm, that shot him. Sa’d ibn Mu’adh said: “O Lord, cure me of the Banū Qurayzah before my death.” The wound stopped bleeding after it had been flowing.

The people of faith were steadfast in the face of the large numbers and the imposing nature of the Confederates they saw, and it increased their certainty in the promise Allah had made them.

The two sides then retreated, after which Abū Sufyān sent a message to the Banū Qurayzah, saying: “We have stayed here for a long time and our surroundings have dried up, so we cannot find any pasture for our mounts. We want to get to Muḥammad and his Companions first, so that Allah can decide the matter between us and them. What do you think?”

The Ghaṭafān sent them the same, and it was said: “What an excellent idea! If you wish, stand [to fight], for we will not hold you back if you send the hostages to us.”

A man from the Ashja’ called Nu’aym ibn Mas’ūd arrived spreading the news. He had heard what the Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān had sent to the Banū Qurayzah and what their response had been. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw him, he gestured to him. This was at the time of ‘Ishā’. Nu’aym ibn Mas’ūd went over and entered upon the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, who was in a Turkish tent of his, accompanied by a group of his Companions. “What news do you have?” the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked him.

“By Allah, you do not have any strength against the enemy. They have united against you and are rushing towards you. They sent a message to the Banū Qurayzah, [saying,] ‘We have stayed here for a long time and our surroundings have dried up, so we cannot find any pasture for our mounts. We want to get to Muḥammad and his Companions first so we can rid ourselves of them.’ The Banū Qurayzah replied to them: ‘What an excellent idea! If you want, send hostages. Then, there will be nothing to

hold you back besides yourselves.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “I am going to tell you something in confidence, but do not mention it to anyone.”

“Yes”, they replied.

“They sent a message to me proposing a truce, and for me to return the homes and wealth of the Banū al-Naḍīr”, he said.

Nu‘aym left the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, heading for the Ghaṭafān. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “War is deception, and perhaps Allah will do something for us.”

Nu‘aym went to the Ghaṭafān and said: “I am a sincere advisor to you, and I have discovered the plot of the Jews. You know that Muḥammad has never lied. I heard him saying that the Banū Qurayzah have offered him a truce in exchange for returning the homes and wealth of their brothers, the Banū al-Naḍīr, and handing the hostages over to him.”

Then, Nu‘aym ibn Mas‘ūd al-Ashjā‘ī went to Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and the Quraysh and said: “Know that I have discovered the treachery of the Jews. I heard Muḥammad saying that the Banū Qurayzah have offered him a truce in exchange for returning the homes and wealth of their brothers, the Banū al-Naḍīr, and in exchange for them returning the hostages to him to fight alongside him and restore the treaty that existed between them.”

Abū Sufyān went out to the noblemen of the Quraysh and said: “Give me your opinions, for they are fed up with staying there and the land has become difficult for them.”

They said: “We think we should leave and not remain [here], in light of the things that Nu‘aym told you. By Allah, Muḥammad has not lied, and these people are treacherous.”

When the hostages heard the discussion, they said: “By Allah, we do not trust them and we will never enter their fortress.”

Abū Sufyān said: “We will not rush until we have sent a message to them, to confirm what they think.”

Abū Sufyān sent ‘Ikrimah ibn Abī Jahl and some warriors to them, and this was on the eve of Saturday. They arrived and spoke with them. He said: “We are fighting tomorrow, so come out to us.”

“Tomorrow is Saturday, and we never fight on Saturdays (the Sabbath)”, they replied.

“We cannot stay, as the camels and horses are going to die and we cannot find any pasture”, ‘Ikrimah said.

“We do not even work on Saturdays, so how can we fight?” they replied. “Stay until Sunday, and send the hostages to us.”

Tkrimah returned, having given up gaining their support.

The hardship and siege became worse for the Muslims. They were preoccupied with themselves, resting neither by day nor by night. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ wanted to send someone outside of the trench to find out about the enemy. So, the Messenger of Allah approached one of his Companions and said: “Will you go obtain news of the enemy?” But he presented an excuse, and so he left him. He went to a second person who responded similarly. All the while, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān was listening to what the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was saying, but he was totally silent due to the difficulty and hardship he was experiencing. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ came to him without knowing who he was.

“Who is this?” he asked.

“I am Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān”, he replied.

He said: “It is you that I want. Could you hear me speaking since last night and my asking for men to send and get information of the enemy for us?”

Ḥudhayfah said: “By the One Who sent you with the Truth, I could hear it.”

“So what was preventing you from standing up when you heard what I said?” he asked.

“Pain and hunger”, he replied.

When he mentioned hunger, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ smiled. “Stand up”, he said. “May Allah protect you from in front of you, from behind you, from above you, from below you, from your right, and from your left until you return to us.”

Ḥudhayfah stood up, gleeful at the supplication of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He was no longer affected by hunger and fear, and he stopped noticing the hardship that had afflicted him before. He went on his way, crossing over the trench and sat right in the midst of the polytheists. He found Abū Sufyān ordering them to light their fires, saying: “Let every person identify who is sitting next to them.”

Ḥudhayfah clasped the hand of the man to his right and said: “Who are you?”

“I am So-and-so”, the man replied.

He then clasped the hand of the man to his left and said: “Who are you?”

“I am So-and-so”, the man replied. Ḥudhayfah proceeded both of them in questioning, fearing they may notice him.

Abū Sufyān then gave the order to depart. They dismantled their camp, loaded their belongings, and set out. The cavalry paused for a moment during the night before moving on. The Ghaṭafān heard cries and grunts [of camels] from the Quraysh’s direction and so sent messengers towards them. They brought back news of the Quraysh’s departure and so they withdrew without any further action.

Before their departure, Allah had sent a wind that lasted several nights, destroying any structure that stood, such that no place on Earth was more severe and more disliked to them than this place. They quickly dispersed while the wind was at its strongest, accompanied by unseen forces from Allah, as Allah Exalted said.

Ḥudhayfah returned with news of the enemy and found the Messenger of Allah ﷺ standing in prayer. This was similar to when Muḥammad ibn Maslamah and his companions had killed Ka’b ibn al-Ashraf; the Messenger of Allah ﷺ remained in prayer until they had completed their mission. When Ḥudhayfah approached the Prophet ﷺ, he was instructed to come closer until his back touched the leg of the Prophet ﷺ. He folded his garment for warmth. The Prophet ﷺ then turned to him and inquired about the enemy, and Ḥudhayfah informed him.

By morning, the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslims found that Allah had granted them victory and comfort. They returned to Medina, their trials severe from the enemy’s siege, which had taken place during a harsh winter. They thus returned exhausted and laid down their arms.

THE BATTLE OF THE BANŪ QURAYṢAH

Whilst the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was – according to what they say – combing his hair in his washing area, having parted one side of his head, Jibrīl arrived wearing his armour upon a horse, and stopped at the entrance of the mosque, near the place where funerals are performed. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went out to him. “May Allah forgive you. Have you put down your weapon?”¹⁸⁴

“Yes”, he replied.

Jibrīl said: “But we (the Angels) have not put down ours since the enemy has come to you. You remained in pursuit of them and Allah defeated them.”

They say there were traces of dust on Jibrīl’s wing. Jibrīl then said to him: “Allah ﷻ commands you to fight the Banū Qurayṣah, and I am heading for them with the Angels accompanying me to shake their fortress and bring the people out.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out, following Jibrīl, and he passed a gathering of the Banū Ghanm, who were waiting for the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. “Did a warrior pass you just now?” he asked them.

“Dihyah al-Kalbī passed us on a white horse, with a sheet of silk beneath him and clad in armour”, they replied.

They mention that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “That was Jibrīl.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ used to liken the appearance of Dihyah al-Kalbī to Jibrīl. “Take me to the Banū Qurayṣah and pray ‘Aṣr amongst them.”

They then stood – or whoever amongst them Allah wished – and headed to the Banū Qurayṣah. The time for ‘Aṣr started whilst they were en route and they mentioned the prayer, and some said to others: “Do you not know that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered you to pray ‘Aṣr at the Banū Qurayṣah?”

Others said: “It is the prayer.” Thus, some of them prayed whilst a group of them delayed the prayer until they prayed it at the Banū Qurayṣah after sunset. They mentioned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ those of them who prayed quickly and those who delayed it, and they also mentioned that he did not reproach any of the two groups.

When ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib saw the Messenger of Allah ﷺ coming, he

¹⁸⁴ Jibril ﷺ is conversing with the Prophet ﷺ and asking him this question. [IGP-TD]

received him, saying: "Go back, O Messenger of Allah, for Allah will suffice you against the Jews." 'Alī had heard them saying something negative about the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his wives, and he did not want the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to hear it.

"Why are you instructing me to go back?" the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked. 'Alī concealed what he heard them say. "I think you heard them saying something offensive about me", the Messenger of Allah ﷺ continued. "Proceed, for if the enemies of Allah see me, they will not say any of the things you heard."

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ reached their fortress – whilst they were at its peak – he called out at the top of his lungs to a group of their noblemen, making sure they heard him.

He said: "Respond to us, O assembly of Jews, O brothers of chimpanzees. Humiliation from Allah has befallen you."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ besieged them with the Muslim brigades for more than ten nights, and Allah repelled Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab until he entered the fortress of the Banū Qurayzah. Allah ﷻ struck fear into their hearts, and the siege was tightened.

They called out for Abū Lubābah ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir; they were allies of the Anṣār. Abū Lubābah said: "I will not come to you until the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gives me permission."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "I hereby give you permission."

So, Abū Lubābah went to them. They wept before him, saying: "O Abū Lubābah, what do you think [about our situation] and what do you instruct us to do? For we do not have the ability to fight."

Abū Lubābah pointed to his neck and pressed it with his fingers, communicating to them that the only intention is for them to be killed.

When Abū Lubābah left, he was filled with despair, realizing that he had been afflicted with a mighty trial. He said: "By Allah, I will not look at the face of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ until I express to Allah a sincere repentance that Allah knows is from my soul." He returned to Medina and tied his hand to a tree trunk.

They say that he was tied there for almost twenty nights. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said – as is mentioned – when Abū Lubābah was delayed [in returning]: "Has Abū Lubābah not finished with his allies?"

"O Messenger of Allah", they replied: "by Allah he has left the fortress, but we do not know where he went."

THE BATTLE OF THE BANŪ QURAYZAH [CONTINUED]

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Something has happened to Abū Lubābah.”

A man approached from the mosque and said: “O Messenger of Allah, I saw Abū Lubābah tied with a rope to one of the posts of the mosque.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “He was afflicted by a trial after me. If he came to me, I would have sought forgiveness for him. If he had done so, we would not have moved him from his place until Allah ﷻ judged regarding him however He wishes.”

When they (i.e., the Banū Qurayzah) asked him for a man to judge between them, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Choose whomever you wish from my Companions.” They chose Sa’d ibn Mu’adh, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was pleased with that decision.

They agreed upon the judgement of Sa’d ibn Mu’adh. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered for their weapons to be seized, and so they were collected in his tent. He also ordered for them to be chained and bound, and placed in the house of Usāmah.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent for Sa’d ibn Mu’adh. He arrived on a Bedouin’s donkey, and they say that his saddlecloth was made of palm fibre. He was followed by a man from the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal, who was walking alongside him, lauding the rights of the Banū Qurayzah, mentioning the oath they had sworn at the Battle of Bu’āth, and saying: “They have chosen you above the rest of your people, hoping for your mercy, compassion, and sympathy for them. So, spare them, for they shall be a beauty and a reserve.” The man continued, but Sa’d gave no response until they drew close. “Will you not reply to me concerning that which I am speaking to you?” he asked.

“The time has come for me not to allow the blame of any critic to divert me from [the way of] Allah”, Sa’d replied.

The man left him and went to his people. “What happened?” they asked. He told them that he is not going to spare them, informed them of what he had said to Sa’d, and how Sa’d had replied.

Sa’d ruled that their fighters be executed, their women and children be taken as prisoners of war, and their wealth be divided.

They mention that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to Sa’d: “You have judged according to the ruling of Allah ﷻ.”

So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had their fighters executed, and there

were, they say, six hundred of them. They were killed at the house of Abū Jahm in Balāṭ – which was not [known as Balāṭ] at that time – and they say that their blood reached Ahjār al-Zayt in the market. He took their women and children as prisoners of war and had their wealth divided amongst the Muslims who were present.

The Muslims captured thirty-six horses in total, so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ divided them, giving each horse two shares.

Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab was brought out. “Has Allah humiliated you?” the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked him.

“You have overcome me”, he replied: “but I do not blame myself for fighting and attacking you.” He then gave the instruction and so his neck was struck, all this taking place in front of Sa’d ibn Mu’adh.

‘Amr ibn Su’dā was amongst the captives. When they were brought forward to be executed, they found him to be missing. “Where is ‘Amr?” they asked.

“By Allah, we have not seen him”, the captives replied. “This piece of rope is what was on him, so we do not know how he managed to escape.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “He escaped from us due to that which Allah knew about him.”

Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, approached the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “Give me al-Zubayr and his wife.” So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ conferred them to him. Thābit went back to al-Zubayr and said: “O Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, do you recognize me?”

At that time, al-Zubayr was elderly and blind. “Does a man not recognize his brother?” he replied.

“I wanted to reward you today for your action”, Thābit said. “Do so, for the Most Generous rewards the generous”, al-Zubayr replied. “I have already done so. I asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and he gave you to me”, Thābit explained, unlocking his shackles.

“I have no guide”, al-Zubayr said: “and you have taken my wife and children.” Thābit returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and asked him for al-Zubayr’s wife and children, and he conferred them to him too. Then, he went back to al-Zubayr and said: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has returned your wife and children to you.” Al-Zubayr said: “I have an orchard in which I toil, and my family and I have no livelihood besides that.”

Thābit returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ [again] and asked him for al-Zubayr’s orchard, and he conferred it to him. He went back to al-Zubayr

and said: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has returned to you your family and wealth. So, embrace Islam, and you will be safe.” “What happened to the two assemblies?” he asked. He mentioned some figures from his people by name. Thābit said: “They have been killed and finished. Perhaps Allah ﷻ will guide you, and perhaps He has kept you alive for a good cause.” Al-Zubayr replied: “I ask you by Allah ﷻ and by the favour I did you that you join me with them, for there is no good in life after them.”

Thābit mentioned that to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, who then instructed for al-Zubayr to be killed.

‘Ā’ishah ؓ, the wife of the Prophet ﷺ, said: “Sa’d ibn Mu’ādh’s wound had healed and closed up. He had supplicated Allah ﷻ, saying: ‘O Allah, Originator of the Heavens and the Earth, You know that there were no people more hated by me than a people who rejected and expelled the Messenger. And I believe that war between us and them has ended. If there is to be conflict between us and them, keep me alive so that I can fight them. But if You have ended the conflict between us and them, then make these wounds gush and allow me to die therein.’ So, Allah ﷻ made them gush, as they mention, whilst he was asleep in the middle of the night. He was not discovered until he had passed away, but the wound had not stopped bleeding.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ relocated Sa’d after he had been shot in the trench, and set up [a tent] for him at the back of the mosque so he could visit him nearby.

The poet said about the Banū Qurayzah:

“Alas! O Sa’d, Sa’d of the Banū Mu’ādh,
For what the Qurayzah and the Banū al-Naḍīr did.
You left your pot empty with nothing in it,
Whilst the people’s pot is hot and boiling.”¹⁸⁵

When Allah ﷻ executed His decree upon the Banū Qurayzah, and Allah ﷻ relieved the believers of the scourge of those places, Qur’an was revealed. Allah was acquainting the believers with the blessing that He ﷻ had bestowed upon them when He sent upon their enemies a [bitter] wind, and forces they could not see against the enemy that came at them from above and below, when their eyes grew wild [in horror] and their

¹⁸⁵ Translator’s note: meaning they are still powerful and strong.

hearts jumped into their throats, and they entertained [conflicting] thoughts about Allah. When hardship and difficulty descended with the actions of the Hypocrites, a group of them said: “Allah and His Messenger have promised us nothing but delusion!”¹⁸⁶ Another group attempted to hinder the victory of Allah and His Messenger ﷺ, calling and inviting their brothers to abandon the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He mentioned the sharpness of their tongues and their lacking courage to fight. Then, He mentioned the Muslims and their genuineness during trials. He states: “Some of them have fulfilled their pledge [with their lives], others are waiting [their turn]. They have never changed [their commitment] in the least.”¹⁸⁷ Then, He states: “Allah drove back the disbelievers in their rage, totally empty-handed. And Allah spared the believers from fighting. For Allah is All-Powerful, Almighty.”¹⁸⁸

Thereafter, He mentioned the Banū Qurayẓah and their collaboration with the enemy of Allah and His Messenger ﷺ. Allah, may He be glorified, says: “And He brought down those from the People of the Book who supported the enemy alliance from their own strongholds, and cast horror into their hearts.”¹⁸⁹ He also mentions how He made the Muslims overpower them through killing or imprisoning them, and their lands, homes, and wealth He caused them to take over: “...as well as lands you have not yet set foot on. And Allah is Most Capable of everything.”¹⁹⁰

Allah also sent down Qur’an that you would recognize upon reciting: twenty-nine verses, opening with: “O believers! Remember Allah’s favour upon you when [enemy] forces came to [besiege] you, so We sent against them a [bitter] wind and forces you could not see. And Allah is All-Seeing of what you do.”¹⁹¹



186 *al-Aḥzāb*, 12.

187 *al-Aḥzāb*, 23.

188 *al-Aḥzāb*, 25.

189 *al-Aḥzāb*, 26.

190 *al-Aḥzāb*, 27.

191 *al-Aḥzāb*, 9.

Muslims Who Were Killed at the Battle of the Trench from the Anṣār Then From the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal

- Sa’d ibn Mu’adh, the one for whom it is said that the Throne shook. He was shot with an arrow and lived for another month, but then succumbed [to his wounds] and died. He supplicated in this battle with the supplication we have mentioned, and Allah ﷻ thus answered his prayers. Allah ﷻ took him as a martyr and comforted him with respect to the Banū Qurayzah by assuming responsibility for the ruling regarding them.
- It is said that he was shot by Abū Usāmah al-Jushamī, an ally of the Banū Makhzūm. ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr said it was in fact Ḥibbān ibn Qays, one of the Banū al-‘Ariqah, who shot him with an arrow and severed the basilic vein in his upper arm.

Also killed that day were:

- Anas ibn Mu’adh ibn Aws ibn ‘Abd ‘Amr.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Sahl.

From the Banū Salimah:

- Tha’labah ibn ‘Anamah.
- Ṭufayl ibn Mālik ibn al-Nu’mān. He was killed by Waḥshī. After accepting Islam, Waḥshī killed Musaylimah the Liar with the same spear he used to kill Ṭufayl and Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ﷺ. Waḥshī said, they relate: “O Allah, You honoured Ṭufayl and Ḥamzah with my spear. So, disgrace Musaylimah with it.” So, he killed him. A man from the Banū Fihri stole it from him. Waḥshī died – they claim – being heavily afflicted by alcohol.¹⁹²

192 Editor’s note: Although some have questioned the credibility of this report regarding the latter part of Waḥshī’s life, it is important to note that the Companions – unlike the Prophets – were not granted infallibility (*‘iṣmah*); hence, it was possible for them to commit sins, both minor and major.

It is reported that during the caliphate of ‘Umar ﷺ, Waḥshī ﷺ was lashed on numerous occasions due to being caught drinking, at which ‘Umar ﷺ lamented: “By Allah, I knew that Allah would not leave the killer of Ḥamzah untouched (i.e., without suffering worldly afflictions).” If reliable, this report affirms, at most, that this affliction was part of what Waḥshī ﷺ endured as an expiation for the killing of Ḥamzah ﷺ, in addition to being clearly instructed by the Nabi ﷺ to never appear before him. All the above, however, does not in any way detract from his being included amongst the Companions and thus enjoying the merits accorded to them.

Moreover, Waḥshī killing Musaylimah is sufficient, Allah willing, as an atonement for any element of impiety documented against him. Waḥshī ﷺ himself relates: “When the Muslims

From the Banū Dīnār:

- Ka'b ibn Zayd.

Disbelievers Who Were Killed From the Quraysh and Then the Banū Makhzūm:

- Nawfal ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Mughīrah.

From the Banū 'Abd al-Dār:

- 'Uthmān ibn Munabbih ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq. He died in Meca from a stab wound he endured that day.

From the Banū 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy:

- 'Abdullāh ibn Qays.
- Ḥisl ibn 'Amr.

Who was Killed at the Battle of the Banū Qurayzah from the Anṣār then from the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj:

- Khālīd ibn Suwayd ibn Tha'labah.

THE EXPEDITION OF ḤUDAYBIYYAH

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ performed 'Umrah in Dhū al-Qa'dah¹⁹³, 6 AH. They entered into *iḥrām* from Dhū al-Ḥulayfah¹⁹⁴ and dyed their hair yellow. He was accompanied by a large group of his Companions. They had no weapons except swords. 'Umar ؓ said: "O Messenger of Allah, do you fear the fanaticism of Abū Sufyān and his companions against us when they have not prepared themselves for conflict?"

"By Allah, I do not know," he replied: "but I do not like to carry weapons whilst performing 'Umrah."

When the Quraysh heard about the Messenger of Allah ﷺ setting

marched to fight Musaylimah the Liar, I made *du'ā'* to Allah ﷻ to allow me to kill Musaylimah to atone for [killing] Ḥamzah. I took the same spear with which I killed Ḥamzah, and I struck him just as an Anṣārī wounded him from the other side. Your Lord knows who actually killed him, but if I was the one who dealt the fatal blow, then I have killed the worst of people as I have killed the best of people after the Messenger of Allah (i.e., Ḥamzah)." (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*, vol. 3, pp. 35-36.)

193 The 11th month of the Islamic Hijrī calendar. [IGP-TD]

194 The *mīqāt* of the people of Medina. [IGP-TD]

out, they said: “We do not know what this man wants. Does he advance towards us with his soldiers whilst there is this conflict between us? We will not allow him to do that, so prepare accordingly.”

Ibn Shihāb said: “From Qudayd, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent a spy of his from Khuzā‘ah to inform him regarding the disbelievers of the Quraysh in Mecca. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ met with his spy whom he had sent at a pool in al-Ashzāz – which was three miles from ‘Uṣfān towards Mecca – who told him that he had left the Quraysh gathering people to fight him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sought the advice of the Muslims, saying: ‘What do you advise regarding this people that have assembled to fight us? Do you think we should launch an attack on those who have gathered against us and on what is lawful of their wealth, and inflict on them? If they desist, they will do so angrily and vengefully, and if a neck from them remains, Allah ﷻ will sever it. Or do you think we should head for the Sacred House and fight whoever prevents us from it?’

Abū Bakr replied: ‘Allah and His Messenger know best. We have come for an objective, so let us head there and fight whoever prevents us from it.’

‘In that case, yes,’ the Messenger of Allah ﷺ responded, and they set off with this as their plan.”

It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ marched until he reached ‘Uṣfān, where he was met by Bishr ibn Sufyān al-Ka‘bī¹⁹⁵. He said: “The Quraysh have lodged at Dhū Ṭuwā with their mothering camels. They have dressed in leopard skins and their cavalry are at Kurā‘ al-Ghamīm, led by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd. They are swearing by Allah ﷻ that they will come between you and the House.”

They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “Woe to the Quraysh! I did not set out to fight them. Rather, I set out to perform ‘Umrah to this House. If the Quraysh had stayed out of the situation between me and the other Arabs, I would have shielded them from conflict. If the Arabs defeated me, that would have been what they wanted, and if I overcame them, then that would [only] affect them, and they [the Quraysh] would have remained secure. So, what do the Quraysh think? By the One in Whose Hand lies my soul, I will continue striving for that which Allah has sent me with until this neck is severed.”

195 Ibn Ḥajar registers him as being Bishr ibn Sufyān al-‘Atakī in *al-Iṣābah*. [IGP-TD]

They relate that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Is there a man who can take us tonight towards the left of the main route, so that we can steer clear of the enemies lying in ambush?” This was part of what he said at night. A man alighted his mount, but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not trust his directions. He said: “Is there any person?” Then, a man began moving on his mount and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and other people followed him. They came across al-‘Uṣayl until they came from beneath Baldaḥ. When they were either at the top or the bottom of the mountain of al-Murār, which some call the mountain of Dhāt al-Ḥanẓal, the mount of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sat down. The people said: “She has stopped.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “She has not stopped, and it is not her habit. Rather, she has been stopped by what stopped the elephants from Mecca. The Ḥaram has borne heavily on her, and it is even heavier on me. By the One in Whose Hand lies my soul, they shall not ask me for any matter today that, consists of joining ties, except that I shall grant them it.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ alighted, to which the people said: “We have no water.” He then took out an arrow from his quiver and ordered for it to be placed inside a well which had no water. They then drank to their fill and watered their camels.

It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Who will go down into the well?” Khallād ibn ‘Abbād al-Ghifārī went down and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ lowered him with his turban. He descended into the well and the water then increased until the people drank to their fill.

It is said that the person who descended into the well was in fact Nājiyah ibn Jundub al-Aslamī¹⁹⁶. It is also said that the person who showed the route to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ that night was ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Nuhm al-Aslamī.

It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said when he was on the mountain pass or as they moved to lower ground: “Say: ‘O Allah, forgive us.’” When they had said it, he said: “This is similar to that which was presented to the Children of Israel when they were told: ‘...and say: “Absolve

196 Nājiyah ibn Jundub ibn ‘Umayr ibn Ya‘mar ibn Wā’ilah ibn Sahm ibn Māzin ibn Salāmān ibn Aslam al-Aslamī. He is also called the keeper of the goat of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. It is said that his name was Dhakwān, but then the Prophet ﷺ renamed him “Nājiyah” when he was saved from the Quraysh. [IGP-TD]

us.” We shall forgive your sins.’¹⁹⁷ But they changed it.”

Budayl ibn Warqā’ came to him amongst some of the Banū Ka’b. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ had narrated what has been mentioned in the Qur’an. Budayl said to him what Bishr ibn Sufyān had said to him, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him the same reply as he gave to Bishr.

Budayl then returned to the Quraysh and told them the news. They then sent towards him (i.e., the Prophet ﷺ) a man from the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Abd Manāh called al-Ḥulays. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw him, he said: “Send out the camels, because he is from a people who respect sacrificial animals.” There were 70 camels.

Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh said: “There was one camel between every seven people, as we used to say.”

When al-Ḥulays saw them, he returned without meeting the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “The Quraysh are ruined, by the Lord of the Ka’bah. The people have only come to perform ‘Umrah. I have never seen so many sacrificial camels rushing towards me from the valley being barred from the House.”

They reviled him and said: “You are just a Bedouin.”

They then sent Mikraz ibn Ḥaṣḥ ibn al-Aḥnaf. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw him, he said: “Before you is a treacherous man.” He spoke to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and then returned to them.

After that, they sent ‘Urwah ibn Mas‘ūd al-Thaqafī. ‘Urwah said to them: “I do not think you will accuse me regarding what I consider blameworthy. You are the father, and I am the son. I have brought to you those who obeyed me, and I was with you in what you are doing.” They believed him.

‘Urwah then came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. When he came to him, he said: “Have you come, O Muḥammad, with the riffraff of people through which you will fight your own kinsfolk? By Allah, it is as though I am seeing you after they have dispersed from you and handed you over.”

Behind the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who said: “Bite on the clitoris of al-Lāt!”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ *al-Baqarah*, 58.

¹⁹⁸ Editor’s note: Such indecent words may shock the audience, especially from the noble likes of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq ﷺ. It is important to note, however, that it was an extreme exception. When Abū Bakr ﷺ would be insulted, he would often reply with the verse: “The servants of the Most Compassionate are those who walk on the Earth humbly, and when the foolish address them [improperly], they only respond with peace.” (*al-Furqān*, 63). However, in this instance,

Would we flee from him and hand him over?”

‘Urwah asked: “Who is this?”

It was said: “This is Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.”

He replied: “By Allah, had it not been for your favour to me during Jāhiliyyah, I would have responded in kind.”

Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah was standing by the blessed head of the Prophet ﷺ in his armour. ‘Urwah began touching the beard of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ as he spoke to him (a sign of affection). Al-Mughīrah was saying: “Keep your hand to yourself lest it does not return to you”, repeating this many times.

‘Urwah said: “If only I knew who this person who hurt me is.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ smiled and said: “This is your nephew, al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah.”

‘Urwah said: “O fool! You only washed your buttocks yesterday. By Allah, you have left us hated by Thaḳīf”, taunting him over the group he had killed on the way from Egypt (in Jāhiliyyah).

‘Urwah saw that no saliva or leftover water from ablution was falling from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ except that the Muslims were scrambling for it. Some of them were drinking it whilst others were washing with it. ‘Urwah returned to the Quraysh and informed them of what he had seen. He said: “By the One in Whose Hand lies my soul, I have seen a kingdom the like of which I have never seen before. I have seen Khosrow in his kingdom, Caesar in his kingdom, and the Negus in his kingdom. I have never seen anyone like him. So, move out of his way to the House.” However, they swore at him and did not accept what he had to say.

Thereafter, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ called ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to send him to the Quraysh whilst he was at Balḍāḥ. ‘Umar said to him: “O Messenger of Allah, do not send me to them, for I fear for my life from them. Rather, send ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān.”¹⁹⁹

He thus sent ‘Uthmān to them. He met Abān ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ who offered him protection and mounted him in front of him on his horse, until he came and spoke to them (i.e., Quraysh) regarding that which the

Abū Bakr ﷺ was enraged on behalf of the Prophet’s honour and thus chose the vilest disparage he could conjure in the moment. Even in such cases, it is the only recorded instance of such language being used.

¹⁹⁹ Editor’s note: Nobody can ever accuse the famously brave ‘Umar of cowardice, so it is clear that ‘Umar is suggesting this as a strategic manoeuvre. ‘Uthmān was the son of Abū Sufyān’s cousin, so there was a familial link, and he was thus sent to the Quraysh to mediate.

Messenger of Allah ﷺ had ordered him. So, they sent Suhayl ibn 'Amr with him to make an agreement with him.

At that time, there were many [secret] Muslims in Mecca from its native people. They invited 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān to circumambulate the House but he refused to do so, and said: "It does not befit me to circumambulate it until the Messenger of Allah ﷺ has not done so."

He then returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ alongside Suhayl ibn 'Amr to whom he had given protection so he could make an agreement with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. And so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and Suhayl ibn 'Amr came to an agreement and made a truce.

'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote the truce between them. He wrote: "In the Name of Allah – the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful", to which Suhayl retorted: "What do I know of 'the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful'? Instead, write: 'In Your Name, O Allah.'" So, they wrote that, without being overcome with any chauvinism as was the case with the disbelievers²⁰⁰. He wrote: "This is what Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh²⁰¹ and Suhayl ibn 'Amr have agreed. They have agreed that Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh will return from the place he is in and not enter Mecca until the following year, and that whoever amongst the people wishes can be an ally to the Messenger of Allah and whoever amongst the people wishes can be an ally to the Quraysh."

The Banū Ka'b leapt up and decided they were allies of the Messenger of Allah and the Banū Bakr leapt up and decided they were allies of the Quraysh. They wrote in their agreement: "There shall be no armour or swords", along with other conditions. Furthermore: "The Messenger of Allah will return and perform 'Umrah the following year. The Ka'bah will be made accessible to him for three days, without him being sent back, and neither he nor any of his Companions will enter it with anything more than a rider's weapons." It is said that they wrote in their truce: "The container is tied."²⁰²

200 The disbelievers of Mecca believed that they enjoyed a decisive advantage and they behaved accordingly in a haughty and uncompromising manner. [IGP-TD]

201 In reality, 'Alī ﷺ first wrote, "Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah". However, the disbelievers of Mecca rejected that and told him, "Do not write, 'Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah.' If you had been a Messenger of Allah, we would not have fought you." He said, "Shall I erase it? I am not the one to erase it." So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ erased it with his hand. (*Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, no. 18567) [IGP-TD]

202 Translator's note: An idiom that denotes the agreement being firmly agreed.

Thereafter, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent the letter to the Quraysh with 'Uthmān, after which Allah showed him – whilst 'Uthmān was in Mecca according to what people say – that he was taking a pledge upon death from the believers under the tree and he intended to fight. He tarried for a day or for however long Allah wished. Then, Allah revealed to him that he is not to fight in Mecca, and so he shaved [his head] and sacrificed [the animals], once they softened towards one another and gave each other protection.

They were waiting for that to be carried out when a man from one side shot a person from the other side, which resulted in some incidents of fighting between them. They threw stones and arrows at one another, and both sides cried out. Each group took whoever was with them from the opposite side as hostages. The polytheists took 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān hostage whilst the Muslims took Suhayl ibn 'Amr and those with him hostage. It was at that moment that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ called the Muslims towards the pledge and he intended to fight, and they gave their pledge to die.

Jābir ibn 'Abdillāh said: “We made a pledge to him not to flee; we did not give him a pledge to die. 'Umar was holding his hand and the tree was an acacia tree.” He further said: “We were 1,400 with 100 horses in the cavalry. We all made a pledge to him besides al-Jadd ibn Qays who hid under his camel's belly.”

When the Quraysh saw this, Allah made them awestruck. They thus sent whoever they had taken hostage and called towards reconciliation and a truce. The Muslims had an upper hand, and the polytheists were afraid of them. So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ made a truce and a written agreement with them. It is said that with Suhayl were Ḥuwayṭib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā and Mikraz ibn Ḥaḥṣ ibn al-Aḥnaf, with other men from the polytheists.

It is mentioned that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رضي الله عنه resented the truce at the time, to the extent that he said a few things, but was then pleased with whatever the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was pleased with and complied with it.

It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to his Companions once he had made the truce: “Sacrifice your camels. Sacrifice your camels” [a total of] three times. But they delayed hesitatingly and no man amongst them sacrificed his camel. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went to Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet ﷺ, and complained to her about this. She said:

“Sacrifice, O Messenger of Allah, because if they see you sacrificing, they will also sacrifice.”

And so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sacrificed and all those who had sacrificial animals with them also sacrificed. The Messenger ﷺ shaved [his head], and a group of them shaved whilst another group trimmed. After coming out of his tent, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “O Allah, forgive those who shave.”

“And those who trimmed, O Messenger of Allah?”

The Prophet ﷺ repeated [his supplication] three times. On the fourth occasion, he said “...and those who trimmed.”

On that day, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was shaved by Khirāsh ibn Umayyah al-Ka’bi, who was considered one of the Banū Makhzūm.

Allah Most Blessed and High sent down: “He is the One Who held back their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the valley of [Ḥudaybiyyah, near] Mecca, after giving you the upper hand over [a group of] them.”²⁰³ This was along with other verses. Alongside what He mentioned therein of the polytheists stopping the sacrificial animals and the believers in Mecca, and that they shall incur guilt for what they did to them unknowingly, He mentioned their chauvinism and making the dream of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ come true: “Allah willing, you will surely enter the Sacred Mosque, in security – [some with] heads shaved and [others with] hair shortened – without fear. He knew what you did not know, so He first granted you the triumph at hand.”²⁰⁴

It is said that the “triumph at hand” is the victory Allah granted His Messenger ﷺ against his enemy in the agreement He made with them on the day of Ḥudaybiyyah, namely that he and his Companions shall return in total peace the following year in the sacred month in which he was stopped. Some people say the “triumph at hand” is Khaybar and whatever is mentioned regarding it. Allah has named the Conquest of Khaybar as a “victory at hand” in another verse. He said: “...so He sent down serenity upon them and rewarded them with a victory at hand.”²⁰⁵

The truce between the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Quraysh was for two years, each of them at peace with the other.

203 *al-Fath*, 24.

204 *al-Fath*, 27.

205 *al-Fath*, 18.

A man from the Muslims – they say – said: “So whoever goes to them from us, O Messenger of Allah, they are more entitled to him?”

“Yes”, he replied. “And Allah has distanced him and driven him away.”

“But whoever of theirs comes to us we cannot accept?”

“That is right. Whoever wishes to separate from them and oppose their religion, Allah will make an exit and opening for him.”

Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of ‘Uqbah, migrated to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ that same day. She had just hit puberty and was unmarried. So, he accepted her migration and did not return her to the polytheists.

Abū Jandal ibn Suhayl ibn ‘Amr came tottering, his feet tied with iron, having accepted Islam. Suhayl had tied him with iron and imprisoned him. He escaped Suhayl’s prison and, whilst avoiding the main path and traversing the mountains, he ended up by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions in Ḥudaybiyyah. The Muslims rejoiced at his coming and received him when he descended the mountain, greeting him and granting him refuge. Suhayl implored them that they must return his son to him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Return his son to him, for if Allah knows him to be truthful, He shall save him.”

Suhayl began striking his face with a thorny branch.

“Gift him to me and spare him the torment”, said the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

“No, by Allah I will not do so”, he replied.

Mikraz ibn Ḥaḥṣ ibn al-Aḥnaf, who had come with Suhayl ibn ‘Amr seeking a truce, said: “I am giving him protection.” He then took him by his hand and led him into his tent.

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās said: “When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned from Ḥudaybiyyah, some of his Companions spoke to him and said: ‘We are exhausted. The people have a riding camel; slaughter it for us, so we can eat its meat, apply its fat, and make shoes out of its leather.’

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: ‘Do not do that, O Messenger of Allah, as it is better that a riding camel remains with the people.’

The Messenger of Allah said: ‘Spread out your leather spreads and abayas’, and so they did. He then said: ‘Whoever has any leftover provisions or food, let him spread it out’, and then prayed for them. He then said: ‘Bring your containers near.’ They then took whatever Allah willed.” Nāfi’ ibn Jubayr narrates this.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ began making his return to Medina when a man from his Companions said: “This is not a victory. We were stopped

from the House and so were our sacrificial animals. And the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent back two men from the believers who had come out to him.”

The statement of these people reached the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He said: “What an evil statement; rather, it is the greatest of victories. The polytheists were pleased to repel you from their lands with total ease, ask you for an agreement, and were keen to make peace with you. They also saw from you what they disliked, and Allah granted you success over them, sending you back safely and with reward. Hence, it is the greatest of victories.”

Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh said: “A slave of Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Balta‘ah came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ vilifying his master. He said: ‘By Allah, Ḥāṭib will definitely enter the Fire.’ The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: ‘You lied. He participated in Badr and Ḥudaybiyyah.’”

“Have you forgotten Uḥud when you were running far away [in panic] – not looking at anyone – whilst I was calling to you from behind? Have you forgotten the Day of the Enemy Alliance when they came at you from east and west, when your eyes grew wild [in horror] and your hearts jumped into your throats, and you entertained [conflicting] thoughts about Allah?”

The Muslims replied: “Allah and His Messenger ﷺ have spoken the truth. It is the greatest of victories. By Allah, we did not ponder over what you pondered, and you most certainly know Allah and His command better than we do.”

Thereafter, He sent down Sūrah al-Faṭḥ to him. He said: “Indeed, We have granted you a clear triumph.”²⁰⁶ Allah gave glad tidings to His Prophet, the Messenger ﷺ of forgiveness, a perfect favour, and His help, and [He revealed] regarding the obedience of the obedient and the hypocrisy of the Hypocrites. In that regard, He sent down ten verses, beginning with: “Indeed, We have granted you a clear triumph [O Prophet].”²⁰⁷²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ *al-Faṭḥ*, 1.

²⁰⁷ *al-Faṭḥ*, 1.

²⁰⁸ The ten verses in question (*al-Faṭḥ*, 1-10) are: “Indeed, We have granted you a clear triumph [O Prophet], so that Allah may forgive you for your past and future shortcomings, perfect His favour upon you, guide you along the Straight Path, and so that Allah will help you tremendously. He is the One Who sent down serenity upon the hearts of the believers so that they may increase even more in their faith. To Allah belong the forces of the Heavens and the Earth. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise. So He may admit believing men and women into Gardens under which rivers flow – to stay there forever – and absolve them of their sins. And that is a supreme achievement in the sight of Allah. Also He may punish hypocrite men and women and

THE STORY OF ABŪ BAŞĪR IBN USAYD IBN JĀRIYAH AL-THAQAFĪ

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned to Medina, a man from the Muslims called Abū Başīr ibn Usayd ibn Jāriyah al-Thaqafī escaped from the polytheists and came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ as a Muslim emigrant. Al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq sent two men from the Banū Munqidh after him. One of them, they say, was a servant, and the other was from their tribesmen. The latter's name was Juḥaysh ibn Jābir, and he was considered a man of endurance and thought amongst the polytheists. Al-Akhnas fixed a price for them to pursue Abū Başīr. They went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ who handed Abū Başīr over to them. They took him as far as Dhū al-Ḥulayfah, where Juḥaysh drew and then waved his sword and said: "I will strike Aws and Khazraj with this sword from day until night."

"Is this sword of yours sharp?" Abū Başīr asked.

"Yes", he replied.

"Give it to me so that I can look at it", Abū Başīr said. He gave it to him. As soon as Abū Başīr took hold of the sword, he struck him dead.

Others said that Abū Başīr took the sword from the Munqidhī man whilst he slept, cut his shackles, and then struck him dead. He chased the other man, but he fled, anxious and concealing himself, running so fast that the pebbles were sounding a crunch, until he entered the mosque, where the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was sitting. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw him, he said: "This person has seen terror."

He came to appeal to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ for help, with Abū Başīr following behind him. He greeted the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: "You fulfilled your responsibility by handing me over to them. I realized that they were going to torture me and try to force me to abandon my religion, so I killed the Munqidhī man but this one escaped me."

"Woe to his mother. A stoker of war had anyone else been with him",

polytheistic men and women, who harbour evil thoughts of Allah. May ill-fate befall them! Allah is displeased with them. He has condemned them and prepared for them Hell. What an evil destination! To Allah belong the forces of the Heavens and the Earth. And Allah is Almighty, All-Wise. Indeed, We have sent you as a witness, a deliverer of good news, and a warner, so that you may have faith in Allah and His Messenger, support and honour him, and glorify Allah morning and evening. Surely those who pledge allegiance to you are actually pledging allegiance to Allah. Allah's Hand is over theirs. Whoever breaks their pledge, it will only be to their own loss. And whoever fulfils their pledge to Allah, He will grant them a great reward." [IGP-TD]

the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

Abū Baṣīr brought his booty to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “Take one-fifth, O Messenger of Allah.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “If I take one-fifth, I will not be fulfilling the agreement I made with them. However, you can do whatever you want with the booty of your fellow and go wherever you please.”

So, Abū Baṣīr left, accompanied by five other Muslims from Mecca who had come to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ with him, but had not been pursued by anyone or had people sent after them by the Quraysh, as had been the case for Abū Baṣīr. They were between al-‘Īṣ and Dhū al-Marwah in the land of the Juhaynah, on the Quraysh’s caravan route towards Sīf al-Baḥr. They looted and executed the people of any Quraysh caravan that passed them, and Abū Baṣīr would frequently say:

“Allah is my Lord, the Most High, the Greatest;
Whosoever aids Allah will be aided,
And the matter will transpire as it is predestined.”

Abū Jandal ibn Suhayl ibn ‘Amr returned with a group of seventy riders who had embraced Islam and emigrated. They met up with Abū Baṣīr but did not wish to go to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ whilst his treaty with the polytheists was in effect, nor did they wish to reside amongst their own people. So, they stayed with Abū Baṣīr at a position hated by the Quraysh, cutting off their provisions from the Levant.

Abū Baṣīr, they say, would lead his companions in prayer, but when Abū Jandal arrived, he would then lead them. When they heard of Abū Jandal’s arrival, people from the Banū Ghifār, Aslam, Juhaynah, and other groups flocked to him, until 300 Muslim fighters had gathered. They stayed with Abū Baṣīr and Abū Jandal, looting and executing the people of any Quraysh caravan that came near. The Quraysh dispatched Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to ask and implore him to send for Abū Baṣīr, Abū Jandal ibn Suhayl, and those with them. They said: “You may accept anyone that comes to you from us without any restriction upon you, for this band has opened a door against us which cannot be ratified.”

When this incident of theirs occurred, those who had advised the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to save Abū Jandal from his father after the agreement realized that obedience to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was better for them, both in what they liked or disliked. That was better than the opinion

of those who believed he had strength better than the help and honour with which Allah distinguished the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

Soon afterwards, Abū al-‘Āṣ ibn al-Rabī‘ passed Abū Baṣīr, Abū Jandal ibn Suhayl, and their companions. Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, was married to him, and they were travelling from the Levant with a group of the Quraysh. They seized them and those accompanying them and took them captive. They did not kill any of them because of the kinship of Abū al-‘Āṣ, who was a polytheist at the time, to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ; he was the son of the full sister of Khadījah bint Khuwaylid. They let Abū al-‘Āṣ go. He went to his wife in Medina, who was staying with her father. He had given her permission to go to Medina to stay with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ when he had left for the Levant. Abū al-‘Āṣ spoke to her about his companions who had been taken prisoner by Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr, and what they had taken of theirs. She thus spoke to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ about their case. They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood up and addressed the people, saying: “We made kinship to certain people by marriage, and we did the same with Abū al-‘Āṣ, and what an excellent relative through marriage we have found him to be. He came from the Levant with some companions of his from the Quraysh, but Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr seized them, took them captive, and took whatever they had with them, but did not kill any of them. Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, asked me to give them protection. So, will you grant protection to Abū al-‘Āṣ and his companions?”

“Yes”, the people replied.

When the statement of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ regarding Abū al-‘Āṣ and his companions whom they had been holding captive reached Abū Jandal and his associates, they returned everything they had taken from them, right down to a camel’s rope.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ wrote to Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr, instructing them to go to him and command their Muslim followers to return to their lands and families, and not confront any of the Quraysh or their caravans that passed them.

They say that the letter of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ came to Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr, whilst Abū Baṣīr was in the throes of death. Abū Baṣīr died with the letter in his hand as he was reading it, and then Abū Jandal buried him where he was and built a mosque near his grave.

Abū Jandal went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, accompanied by a group of his companions. All of them returned to their families, and the

caravans of the Quraysh were now safe. Abū Jandal remained with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, later participating in all the battles he witnessed and the Liberation [of Mecca]. He returned alongside the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, staying with him in Medina until the Messenger of Allah ﷺ passed away.

Suhayl ibn 'Amr went to Medina at the beginning of the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb رضي الله عنه. He stayed there for a few months before leaving with his family and wealth to fight [in the Path of Allah] in the Levant, accompanied by al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām.

Abū Jandal set out with his father Suhayl to the Levant, and they continued to strive there until they and al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām had all died. The only person to survive from Suhayl's children and grandchildren was [his granddaughter] Fākhitah bint 'Utbah ibn Suhayl. Al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām's children also died, with only 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith surviving from his children. So, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith married Fākhitah bint 'Utbah, and she gave birth to [his son] Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the eldest of his children.²⁰⁹

This is the story of Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr, may Allah's mercy be upon them and may Allah forgive them.

THE BATTLE OF KHAYBAR

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned to Medina from Ḥudaybiyyah, he stayed there for twenty nights, or thereabouts. Then, he set out on an expedition to Khaybar, which Allah ﷻ had promised him when he was at Ḥudaybiyyah.

When he got to Khaybar, he stopped off – they say – between

209 It is worthy of mention that Abū Bakr bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥārith bin Hishām al-Makhzūmī, d. 94 AH, went on to become one of the greatest scholars of the generation that succeeded the companions, Allah Ta'ālā pleased with them. This fact may not have needed mention during the life of the author due to the overwhelming renown enjoyed by him at the time, and indeed to this day among the scholars. He narrated the hadith of the Messenger ﷺ from his father, 'Ammār bin Yāsir, our mothers 'Āishah and Umm Salamah, and Abū Hurayrah, Allah Ta'ālā be pleased with them all, amongst others. He is renowned in the intellectual history of Islam as one of the *Seven Fuqahā'* of Medina, and was known as the monk of Quraysh due to his dedication to the prayer and fasting. It is appropriate in some sense that this inspiring story, filled with victories that outwardly seemed to be defeats and setbacks, should end in what seems like the extinction of the lineage of Abū Jandal; but in reality, the martyrdom of nearly his entire family was a proof of the overwhelming barakah hidden inside their obedience to the commandments of Allah Ta'ālā and His Messenger ﷺ. [Hamzah wald Maqbul]

al-Marṭah and the fortress, and so he was between all of Khaybar's fortresses. When the Jews of Khaybar heard about the Messenger of Allah ﷺ marching towards them, they sent for their allies from [the Banū] Asad and Ghaṭafān, seeking reinforcements which they duly provided. Then, they entered a strong fortress of theirs called al-Qamūṣ. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ besieged them for almost twenty nights.

The land was harsh and the heat was intense, causing the Muslims extreme fatigue. They came across the domesticated donkeys of the Jews, which had not been taken into the fortress, and so they slaughtered them. But their conscience was uneasy about slaughtering them, so they asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. Some men amongst them said: "Our stomachs are empty except for [eating] dates, and we cannot find any bread. So can we eat it?" He then forbade them from eating it. Some of them had placed the meat into the pots, but they upturned their pots. Others had already cooked it, so they threw the meat away.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ was fought against intensely and the battalions poured upon him. The infantrymen of the Jews and their allies were headed by a man called Marḥab.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ dispatched his Companions with two banners. The Muslims had never had a banner (*rāyah*) before Khaybar; they only had a battle standard (*liwā*). He sent 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ with the Muhājirūn and gave him the banner. They marched towards them. As they approached the fortress, they opened it, and the infantrymen of the Jews came out, reciting [the following verses of poetry]:

"Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab,
Fully-armed, a courageous and experienced warrior.
Piercing on occasion, and striking at other times,
I suffice when I am present for those who are absent."

Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ commanded the Muslims with the second banner at night, so they marched towards them. The infantrymen of the Jews emerged and made them retreat until they reached the main body of the Muslims. The Prophet ﷺ was upset that the Muslims returned and mentioned to them that Allah ﷻ had promised them its conquest. On that note, night fell upon the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslims, and he said: "Tomorrow, I will give the banner to a man who loves Allah and His Messenger ﷺ and at whose hand Allah will bestow victory." Then, he returned to his lodging, and the people settled down for the night.

A black, Ethiopian servant from the people of Khaybar who had been with his master's sheep arrived. When he saw that the people of Khaybar had borne their arms, he asked them: "What do you plan on doing?"

"Fighting this man that claims that he is a Prophet", they replied.

The mention of the Prophet ﷺ struck him, and he went with his sheep to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. When he arrived, he asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: "What do you say, and to what do you call?"

He replied: "I call to Islam; to bear witness that there is no deity except Allah; and that I am Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah; and to not worship anything except Allah."

"What will I get if I bear witness to and affirm my faith in Allah?" the servant asked.

"You will get Paradise, so long as you remain firm upon that", the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

The servant then embraced Islam. "O Prophet of Allah, these sheep with me are a trust", he said.

"Take them out of our camp and leave them at the pebbles, for Allah ﷻ will fulfill your trust for you", the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

The servant did so, and the sheep returned to their owner, and the Jew realized that his servant had embraced Islam. The Messenger ﷺ stood up to exhort the people. When he completed his reminder, he called one of his Companions who had conjunctivitis, namely 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib رضي الله عنه. He spat [lightly] in his eyes, and supplicated for him to be healed. Then, he gave him the banner. The Muslims, including the servant, followed him alongside the supplication of the Prophet ﷺ, and they strengthened their resolve to be steadfast.

When the Muslims drew close to the entrance of the fortress, the Jews came out with their infantrymen. The head of the Jews' infantry was killed, causing them to break, and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal killed Marḥab.

From the Muslims, the black servant was killed, and the infantrymen of the Jews returned to their base. The Muslims carried the black servant back to their camp and took him into the tent. It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ looked into the tent and then, turning to his Companions, said: "Allah honoured this servant and drove him to good. Islam was true for him, and I have seen two heavenly maidens (*ḥūr al-ʿīn*) by his head."

The Jews then entered their fortresses, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Muslims imposed a strict siege upon them. When they became

exhausted, they asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ for a treaty on the basis that he would guarantee their lives and they would not interfere between him and Khaybar, its land, and their wealth. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ agreed to a treaty with them in exchange for the yellow and white – namely dinars and dirhams, weapons, clothes besides that which they were wearing, and “the guarantee of Allah and His Messenger is absolved of you if you conceal any of that.” They asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to agree for them to stay there on the condition that they will labour in exchange for half the dates and crops it produces. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Yes, we will allow you to stay there on these conditions for as long as we wish. If we want to remove you, we shall do so.”²¹⁰ They agreed upon that. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent for their wealth, taking it one at a time.

Muslims Who Were Killed at the Battle of Khaybar:

From the Quraysh then the Banū ‘Abd al-Shams:

- Rabī‘ah ibn Aktham.
- Thaqīf ibn ‘Amr. Two allies of theirs.

And from the Anṣār:

From the Banū Ḥārithah:

- Maḥmūd ibn Maslamah. It is mentioned that the Messenger ﷺ said: “He has the reward of two martyrs”, and Allah knows best.

From the Banū Zurayq:

- Mas‘ūd ibn Sa‘d ibn Qays.

From the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf:

- Abū Ḍayyāh.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked Kinānah ibn Rabī‘ ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq about some treasure, which was named “Misk al-Ḥamal”, that had belonged to Abū al-Ḥuqayq and was successively taken care of by the eldest amongst them. As well as Kinānah, he also asked Ḥuyayy ibn Rabī‘ ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq. They said to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: “We spent it on the battle and none of it remains” and swore to that effect.

²¹⁰ They were later expelled by ‘Umar ؓ during his reign. [IGP-TD]

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to them: “The guarantee of Allah and His Messenger are absolved of you if you have it”, or something similar.

“Yes”, they replied.

He bore witness against them. Then, he instructed al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām to punish Kinānah. He tortured him severely, but he did not give up any information. We do not know whether Ḥuyayy was [also] tortured or not.

Next, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked a servant of theirs named Tha‘labah, who was intellectually challenged, about the treasure. He said: “I do not know about it, but I used to see Kinānah circling this ruin every morning. So, if there is anything, it will be there.” So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent [a group] to that ruin, and they found the treasure there. They brought it to him, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered for the two men to be killed. He handed Kinānah over to Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, who killed him in return for his brother Maḥmūd ibn Maslamah. It was said that Kinānah had killed Maḥmūd.

Ibn Shihāb said: “Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib and Ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ka‘b ibn Mālik narrated to me that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to Bilāl that day: ‘Stand up and proclaim that none will enter Paradise but a believer, and that Allah may strengthen the religion through a wicked man.’ This happened when the man about whom the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, ‘He is from the people of the Fire’, was mentioned. He fought intensely, but they found that he had stabbed himself with a sharp arrowhead and he died.” Ṣafiyyah was married to Ḥuyayy ibn al-Rabī²¹¹. The Messenger ﷺ took the family of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq as captives for what they gave from themselves, and took Ṣafiyyah due to her relationship with them.²¹² Other than them, no-one from the people of Khaybar was taken captive as far as we know.

THE STORY OF ṢAFIYYAH BINT ḤUYAYY IBN AKHṬAB

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ had promised Diḥyah al-Kalbī one of the captives from Khaybar. Diḥyah al-Kalbī asked for Ṣafiyyah, but it is narrated that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him two daughters of al-Rabī’ ibn

211 In reality, she was married first to Sallām ibn Mishkam. She was then widowed and thereafter married Kinānah ibn Abī Ḥuqayq. (*al-Isṭi‘āb; al-Iṣābah*) [IGP-TD]

212 Translator’s note: She was married to Kinānah ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq.

Abī al-Ḥuqayq in her place and took Ṣafiyyah for himself. At the time they were taken captive, she was newly married with her marriage not having been consummated. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed Bilāl to take her to his residence. They say that Bilāl took her past the slain. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ disliked that, and said: “Have you lost your mercy, O Bilāl? What did you intend, taking a young maiden past the slain?” Bilāl apologized for that.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ presented Islam to her and so she embraced the religion. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ chose her for himself and consummated with her. Some of the Companions were not aware of this, and they spoke to him about Ṣafiyyah, hoping that she would be gifted to one of them. As far as we know, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “She is your daughter-in-law, so turn away from her”, and they did so.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw a bruise on her face. “What is this on your face?” he asked.

“O Messenger of Allah, I saw a dream before you came to us. And no, by Allah, I was not mentioning anything about you.”²¹³ I related it to my husband who then slapped me and said, ‘Are you aspiring for this king in Medina?’”

“What did you see?” the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

“I saw the Moon falling from its place and landing in my room”, she replied. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ was amazed at her dream.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ intended to travel back to Medina, she came out to get on the mount. He put his thigh in front of her to lift her up, but she exalted the Messenger of Allah ﷺ too much for her to put her foot on his thigh. So, she put her knee on his thigh and then climbed on.

Some of the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ would walk alongside him when he would ride and talk to him. When they saw the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had lifted her behind him on his mount, they turned away from her, waiting to see if he covers her or keeps her face open as with a slave-girl. When she had mounted, he placed the shawl he was wearing over her back and face, tying both its ends beneath him. Hence, they moved away from him during the journey and realized she is one of his wives.

213 Translator's note: This was said to preclude it being a dream she saw based on what she had been discussing during the day.

It has come to our knowledge that Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī Khālīd ibn Zayd spent the night on which the Messenger of Allah ﷺ consummated his marriage with Ṣafīyyah standing close to his tent, holding onto the hilt of his sword until morning. In the morning, the Prophet ﷺ came out. When Abū Ayyūb saw him, he said: “Allah is Greater (*Allāhu akbar*).”

“What is wrong, Abū Ayyūb?” the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

“I did not sleep all night”, he replied.

“Why?” the Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked.

“When this woman went to you, I remembered that you killed her father, brother, husband, and most of her clan. By Allah’s existence, I feared for you from her”, he replied.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ laughed and said some kind words to him.

THE REST OF THE BATTLE OF KHAYBAR

Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Rasha’ ibn Naẓīf informed us from Abū Bakr ‘Abdullāh ibn Hilāl al-Ḥinnā’ī, from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Attāb, from Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Mughīrah, from Abū ‘Abdillāh Ismā’īl ibn Abī Uways, who narrated to us from Ismā’īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uqbah, from his uncle Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, who said:

After Allah granted victory over Khaybar to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and whoever was killed amongst them was killed, the Jewish lady Zaynab bint al-Ḥārith – who was the daughter of Marḥab’s brother – gifted Ṣafīyyah a roasted lamb that she had poisoned. She put most of the poison in the shoulder and foreleg because she had heard that this was the joint of lamb the Messenger of Allah ﷺ loved most.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ went to Ṣafīyyah, accompanied by Bishr ibn al-Barā’ ibn Ma’rūr of the Banū Salimah, and she placed before them the roasted lamb. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ took a bite from the shoulder and Bishr took a bite from the bone. When the Messenger ﷺ swallowed his morsel, Bishr ibn al-Barā’ swallowed what was in his mouth. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Raise your hands, for the shoulder of the lamb is informing me that it has been poisoned.”

Bishr ibn al-Barā’ responded: “By the One Who honoured you, I sensed that in the food I ate. The only thing that prevented me from spitting it out was that it troubled me greatly that I spoil your meal. When you swallowed what was in your mouth, I did not want to prioritize myself over

you. I wish you had not swallowed when it contains poison.”

Before Bishr could even rise from his place, his colour turned to that of a green shawl, and his pain enfeebled him until he could not move by himself.

Jābir said: “That day, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ got the upper part of his back cupped. Abū Hilāl, the servant of the Banū Bayāḍah, performed the cupping with a horn and a knife. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ survived for three years after that until the illness he died from, when he said: “I experience pain recurringly from the lamb I ate on the day of Khaybar, and now this time my aorta is being cut.” And so the Messenger ﷺ died as a martyr.

The Banū Fazārah were amongst those who went to support the people of Khaybar. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent them a message telling them not to support them, asking them to depart from them in exchange for such-and-such from [the spoils of] Khaybar. However, they refused and said: “They are our neighbours and allies.”

When Allah ﷻ granted victory at Khaybar, those of the Banū Fazārah who were there came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “Give us our portion and that which you promised us.”

“Your portion is Dhū al-Ruqaybah”, he replied, referring to one of the mountains of Khaybar.

“In that case, we will fight you”, they said.

“Your appointment is [at] Janafā”, he replied. When they heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ say that, they fled.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah to apportion the dates of Khaybar to the Jews. When he arrived, they began offering him food and talking to him, having gathered for him their women’s jewellery, saying: “They are for you. Make a concession for us and turn a blind eye when distributing.”

‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah responded: “O assembly of Jews, by Allah, you are amongst the most hated of Allah’s creation to me. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ only sent me to you to be just between him and you. I have no desire for your worldly things, and I will not treat you unfairly. What you have presented to me is illicit wealth, and we do not consume it.”

He assessed the date palms. When he had made his appraisal, he gave them a choice, saying: “If you want, I can guarantee your share for you; and if you want, you can guarantee ours and look after it.” They chose the latter option, and said: “O Ibn Rawāḥah, what you are doing is the very thing with

which the Heavens and the Earth exist – they only exist with the truth.”

The gains which Allah granted to His Messenger ﷺ from Khaybar – which was for Allah, His Messenger ﷺ, and those with him – was in halves: one half for Allah and His Messenger ﷺ, and the other half for the Muslims. The half of Allah and His Messenger ﷺ was Katibah, Waṭīh, Sulālim, and Wajdah. The remaining half for the Muslims was al-Shiqq and Naṭāh, with al-Shiqq being thirteen shares and Naṭāh being five shares.

No part of Khaybar was distributed to anyone besides those who participated in Ḥudaybiyyah – neither did anyone else join them nor did any of them stay back. Nobody besides them participated, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not allow anyone who stayed back when he set out for Ḥudaybiyyah to participate in Khaybar, with the exception of Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh.

It is mentioned, and Allah knows best, that ten of the Ash‘arīs came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, including Abū ‘Āmir al-Ash‘arī. They were amongst those regarding whom it is mentioned that they came as emigrants from Abyssinia. Alongside them were a group from Daws, including al-Ṭufayl and Abū Hurayrah²¹⁴. They came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ who thought – and rightly so – that he should not make them unsuccessful in their travel and cause their journey to go in vain. They mention that he included them in what was distributed in Khaybar, asking his Companions to include them, which they did. Allah knows best.

A MENTION OF THE DIVISION [OF THE WAR SPOILS] OF KHAYBAR

The people who participated in Khaybar amongst those with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had 1,800 shares distributed amongst them; for

214 His original name was ‘Abd al-Shams ibn Ṣakhr al-Dawsī. Other names have also been narrated for both himself and his father. He accepted Islam during its early period through the leader of his tribe, Ṭufayl ibn ‘Amr. He then travelled to Mecca and met the Prophet ﷺ, who renamed him ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. He was given the nickname “Abū Hurayrah” by the Prophet ﷺ because he was often seen carrying a kitten. He travelled to Medina with the Prophet ﷺ after the Battle of Khaybar and then lived in the Ṣuffah, a dedicated platform in the Prophet’s mosque where the paupers lived and those who dedicated themselves to studying Islamic knowledge. He is the most prolific narrator of hadith among the Companions, having related over 5000 hadiths. [IGP-TD]

their men, horses, and women who were also with him. He allotted shares for them just as he did for the men according to what has reached us. Allah knows best.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ provided each of his wives with food – 100 *wasqs*²¹⁵ of dates and 20 *wasqs* of barley – from the one-fifth. A Naṭāh²¹⁶ constituted 18 shares, each share constituting 100 shares – this was the distribution of the Muslims. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ left the wealth of Khaybar with the Jews. They would work on it and take care of all its needs in exchange for half of its fruit and crops. It remained like this during the era of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, the caliphate of Abū Bakr ؓ, and part of Umar's caliphate.

The dates were distributed according to shares from half of Khaybar and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ would take one-fifth. Then, when 'Umar intended to exile the Jews from there²¹⁷, he ordered the people to ride their mounts so that he can distribute Khaybar according to shares. He thus distributed it over 10 shares, each share thereof equaling 100 shares for 100 men, besides the one-fifth.

'Umar sent a message to the wives of the Prophet ﷺ, saying: "Whoever amongst you wishes for me to allot them date trees by estimating their fruit at 100 *wasqs*, such that the actual trees, their land, and their water belongs to them, along with crops equivalent to 20 *wasqs*, I shall do so. But whoever amongst you wants to maintain the share they have in the one-fifth, we shall do that."

Al-Qāsim narrated to us from Ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqbah, from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, who said: "Nāfi' narrated to us that 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar²¹⁸ said: 'When Khaybar was liberated, the Jews requested the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to allow them to stay there, on the condition that they will labour in exchange for half of the dates produced. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "We will let you stay there on

215 Translator's note: A *wasq* is a unit for measuring weight that approximates 120 kg.

216 Naṭāh was one of the forts of Khaybar. The author here is stating that the spoils of that fort were divided in the manner that he has described. [IGP-TD]

217 This expulsion took place in the 10th year after the Hijrah. [IGP-TD]

218 Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah heard this narration from Nāfi', who was a direct student of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ؓ. There is considerable Orientalist speculation over this stipulation, with most considering it to be an interpolation in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām. But this narration constitutes explicit evidence of the existence of this stipulation, as it was related directly from one of those who participated in the Battle of Khaybar. [IGP-TD]

this condition for as long as we wish.” They remained in this manner until ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb exiled them.”

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Umar would say: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not bequeath anything besides three things: for the people of Ruhāwah he bequeathed date trees whose cut produce was 100 *wasqs*, and the same for the Dārīs, the Saba’īs, and the Ash ‘arīs; he commanded that the army of Usāmah ibn Zayd be dispatched; and that no second religion remains in the Arabian Peninsula.”

Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh narrated: “I heard ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ﷺ say: ‘I heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ say: “I will expel the Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula.”’” Nāfi’ narrated to us from ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar that ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb would not allow Jews, Christians, or Zoroastrians to stay in Medina for longer than three days – as long as they needed to buy and sell. He used to say: “Two religions cannot coexist”, and he expelled the Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula.

Then, Allah cast terror into the hearts of the residents of Fadak when they heard about what He had done to the people of Khaybar. They sent envoys to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, offering a peace deal in which they would hand over half of Fadak. Their envoys came to the Muslims at Khaybar, along the way, or after they had returned to Medina. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ accepted the offer, as has been mentioned, and Fadak thereby fell exclusively to Allah and His Messenger ﷺ, without spurring any horses or camels for it.

Al-Jabal ibn Jawwāl al-Tha’labī, who was a Muslim at that time, recited [the following verses of poetry]:

“Naṭāh was attacked by the Messenger with an army,
Formidable, with strong shoulders and spines.
They were convinced they shall be disgraced when they heard
The men of Aslam and Ghifār were in their midst.
They attacked the Banū ‘Amr ibn Zur‘ah at dawn,
Whilst the people of al-Shiqq had a grim day.
They trailed their hems in the open plains, not leaving
Except the cocks that crow in the morning.
I knew Muḥammad would surely conquer
and stay there for many Ṣafars.”

Part of what is mentioned in the account of Khaybar is that the Quraysh

laid big bets with each other when they heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had set out. Some of them said Muḥammad and his Companions will be victorious whereas others said the two allies (i.e., the Banū Asad and Ghifār) and the Jews of Khaybar will be victorious.

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāṭ al-Sulamī then al-Bahzī had accepted Islam and participated with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ in the Conquest of Khaybar. Umm Shaybah of the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy was married to al-Ḥajjāj, and he was extremely wealthy. He owned the mines of the Banū Sulaym’s lands. When the Prophet ﷺ conquered Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāṭ said: “O Messenger of Allah, I own some gold which is by my wife. If she and her family find out about my accepting Islam, I will have no wealth left. So, give me permission, O Messenger of Allah, so I can move quickly and precede the news, saving my wealth and myself.” The Messenger ﷺ thus granted him permission.

When he got to Mecca, he informed that the Messenger ﷺ had been captured and his Companions had dispersed from him, and that the Jews had sworn to send him to Mecca and kill him in return for their people slain in Medina. When they heard that, they rejoicingly told one another about it. The rumble caused by the people and their cheers of happiness at this reached ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He tried to stand but his back gave way, and he was unable to do so. He called for his son Qutham, who resembled the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and began speaking poetry about him in a raised voice, in his vehemence against the enemies of Allah. Men and women, both polytheists and Muslims, came to the door of his house. Some of them were brazenly haughty and insolent whilst others seemed to be overcome with death due to the calamity and grief.

Al-‘Abbās sent a slave of his called Abū Zabībah to al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāṭ and instructed him to speak to him privately and say: “Al-‘Abbās says to you: ‘We have greater hope in Allah than the occurrence of what you have said.’”

When Abū Zabībah told him al-‘Abbās’s message, al-Ḥajjāj said to him: “Go to your master and tell him to be on his own in one of his houses, so that I can come to him in the afternoon bringing something he will like.”

Thereafter, Abū Zabībah came, and as he entered through the door of his house, called out: “O ‘Abbās! Rejoice in that which shall make you happy.” Al-‘Abbās stood as though he had not been afflicted with any calamity, received Abū Zabībah, kissed him between his eyes, and then set him free, all before he had told him anything. He then took him inside

and said: "Tell me, O Abū Zabībah."

He said: "Al-Ḥajjāj ordered me to [tell you to] be on your own in one of your houses, so that he can come to you in the afternoon and tell you something that will please you."

Al-Ḥajjāj came to him in the afternoon and took a promise from him to keep his news a secret for the remainder of the day and whilst the night is dark until he leaves. Al-ʿAbbās agreed, so al-Ḥajjāj accurately told him what he was present to and witnessed.

Al-Ḥajjāj returned to his family and took the gold. His wife said to him: "What do you want?"

He said: "Keep cover for me tonight until I leave, for I wish to hurry before the tradesman of the Quraysh. I wish to make some good purchases from the people of Khaybar from what they took as spoils from Muḥammad and his Companions."

With nightfall, al-Ḥajjāj left and the people were uproarious during the night regarding the bets they had laid with each other. That whole day and night had been very long for al-ʿAbbās. In the morning, al-ʿAbbās called at the door: "O Umm Shaybah, is al-Ḥajjāj there?"

"No", she replied.

He enquired about him, to which she said: "O cousin, he went last night to purchase some of the spoils the people of Khaybar acquired from Muḥammad and his Companions."

Al-ʿAbbās said: "The man is not your husband if you do not follow his religion. He has accepted Islam and was with Muḥammad during the conquest. He has in fact fled from you and your family with his wealth, lest you take it off him."

"Did he tell you this?" she asked.

"Yes, by Allah", he replied.

She then said: "I see you and the stars are speaking the truth." She stood to inform her family in a terrible state.

After that, al-ʿAbbās went to the gathering of the Quraysh as celebratory as they were. When they saw him coming, they winked at one another and laughed amongst themselves. Al-ʿAbbās saw all of it.

He said: "Has any news come to you?"

"Yes", they said.

"And what is that?" he asked.

"The news that came to you from the truthful, reliable person who witnessed it and was present", they said.

“Who is he?” al- ‘Abbās asked.

“Al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāt”, they said.

He then said: “By the Existence of Allah, he is reliable in my eyes and truthful according to me. I swear by the Lord of the Ka ‘bah, the shares of Allah and His Messenger ﷺ have been allotted at Khaybar. The Prophet ﷺ kept alive whomever he kept alive on the condition that they work, humiliated and subjugated. He struck the necks of the sons of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq but the Messenger of Allah ﷺ left himself the daughter of Ḥuyayy as a bride. Your fellow who told you about the Prophet ﷺ embraced Islam and fled with his wealth, lest his wife and her family take it.”

“Who told you this?” they asked.

“Al-Ḥajjāj himself”, he said.

They sent someone to his family to find that he had actually gone. Their happiness thus turned into grief for them and a loss, whilst the faces of the believers were beaming.

THE ‘UMRAH OF THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ

The year after Ḥudaybiyyah in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 7 AH, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out for ‘Umrah. It was the same month in which the polytheists had prevented him from accessing the Sacred Mosque [the year before], until he reached Ya‘jaj where he put down all arms – bucklers, shields, spears, and arrows – and only entered with the weapon of riders: swords.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib ahead to Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥazn al- ‘Āmiriyyah who asked for her hand in marriage on his behalf. She delegated the matter to al- ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib to whom her sister Umm al-Faḍl bint al-Ḥārith was married.

Al- ‘Abbās ﷺ subsequently married her to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ arrived in Mecca, he instructed his Companions: “Uncover your shoulders and move with haste in *ṭawāf*”²¹⁹ in order to show the polytheists their stamina and strength, as he attempted to delude²²⁰ them in any way he could.

219 This brisk walk or jog while moving the shoulders in a side-to-side fashion is called *raml*. It is done during the first three rounds of the *ṭawāf* stage in Hajj or ‘Umrah. [IGP-TD]

220 The present tense verb here is *yukāyid*, which means to deceive, dupe, or outwit. In other words, it was a strategy employed to prevent the Quraysh from daring to break their pact and attack the

The people of Mecca – men, women, and children alike – gathered to observe the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions circumambulating the House. ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah was in front of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ reciting verses of poetry, brandishing his sword and saying:

“O disbelievers, clear out of his way;
I am a witness that he is His Messenger.
The Most Merciful sent down in His Revelation,
In scrolls that are recited to His Messenger.
Today we shall strike you upon its interpretation
Just as we struck you upon its Revelation,
With a blow that removes the head from its neck
And makes the friend oblivious of their friend.”

Some men from the leaders of the polytheists hid to watch the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. Consumed by anger, rage, rivalry, and jealousy, they went out to al-Khandamah. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ carried out his pilgrimage rites and stayed for three nights. That was the end of what was decided on the day of Ḥudaybiyyah. When the Messenger ﷺ woke up on the fourth day, Suhayl ibn ‘Amr and Ḥuwayṭib ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā approached him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ was sitting with a gathering of the Anṣār, talking with Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah. Ḥuwayṭib cried out: “We implore you in the Name of Allah and the treaty to leave our land, for the three nights have passed.”

Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah responded: “You have lied – may you lose your mother. It is neither your land nor the land of your forefathers. By Allah, we will not leave.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ called Suhayl and Ḥuwayṭib and said: “I have married a woman from amongst you, so it would not harm you for me to stay until I have consummated the marriage with her, and we make some food, and then we eat and you eat with us.”

“We implore you in the Name of Allah and the treaty to leave us”, they repeated. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed Abū Rāfi’ and he announced their departure. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ rode until he dismounted at Sarif, and the Muslims stayed there. The Messenger ﷺ left Abū Rāfi’ behind to bring Maymūnah to him in the evening, and he waited in Sarif for her to arrive. Maymūnah and those with her had been troubled

and hassled by the fools and children of the polytheists. They startled the camel, causing it to bolt with her, and she very nearly did not escape. She had set off on an unruly camel and then came to the Messenger ﷺ at Sarif, where he consummated the marriage with her. He then set off at the beginning of the night, travelling until he arrived in Medina. Allah had destined that Maymūnah would die at Sarif later on, and so she died where he consummated with her.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ arrived in Mecca, the daughter of Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib – whose mother was Salmā bint ‘Umays, the sister of Asma’ bint ‘Umays who was the mother of ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far – was [also] in Mecca. ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib spoke to the Prophet ﷺ about her, saying: “We should not leave the daughter of our uncle as an orphan amongst the polytheists when she is not from them.” That was during the truce, but he did not forbid him from taking her out.

When they arrived in Medina, with her returning with them, Zayd ibn Ḥārithah spoke. He was the trustee of Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had established a pact of brotherhood between the two of them when he had established the pacts of brotherhood between his Companions. He said: “I have more right to my niece, O Messenger of Allah.”

When Ja‘far heard that, he said: “The maternal aunt is [like] the mother; we have more right to this girl because of the position of her maternal aunt.”

‘Alī said: “Am I seeing you arguing over my cousin? None of you have a closer relation to her than me, so I have more right to her than you.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ ruled in favour of Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib. “Marry her, O Messenger of Allah”, ‘Alī suggested.

“She is my niece through breastfeeding”, the Prophet ﷺ replied.

It is mentioned that Allah ﷻ revealed regarding this ‘Umrah: “[There will be retaliation in] a sacred month for [an offence in] a sacred month, and all violations will bring about retaliation”²²¹, for the Messenger of Allah ﷺ performed the minor pilgrimage in the same sacred month in which he was prevented [from accessing the Sacred Mosque the year before].

221 *al-Baqarah*, 194.

THE BATTLE OF MU'TAH

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ headed for Medina and stayed there for six months. Then, he dispatched an army to Mu'tah, appointing Zayd ibn Ḥārithah as their commander. If Zayd was killed, Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib was to be their commander, and if Ja'far was struck down, 'Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah would be their commander.

The army proceeded on their way until they met Ibn Abī Sabrah al-Ghassānī at Mu'tah, where there were several communities of Arab and Roman Christians, including the Tanūkh and Bahrā'. Ibn Abī Sabrah closed the fortress to the Muslims for three days. Then, they came out, and the two sides met on a reddish pastureland, where intense fighting ensued. Zayd ibn Ḥārithah took up the battle standard, but he was killed. Then, Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib picked it up, but he was also killed. Finally, 'Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah picked it up, but he was killed also. So, after the commanders chosen by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ [had fallen], the Muslims agreed upon Khālīd ibn al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī, and Allah thus decimated the enemy and gave the Muslims victory.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ had sent them in [the month of] Jumādā al-Ūlā. It is said – and Allah knows best – that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib passed by me, flying with the Angels just as they fly, with two wings.”

Muslims who were killed that day:

From the Quraysh then the Banū Hāshim:

- Zayd ibn Ḥārithah.
- Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib.

From the Banū Makhzūm:

- Habbār ibn Sufyān ibn 'Abd al-Asad.

From the Banū 'Adī ibn Ka'b:

- Mas'ūd ibn al-Aswad.

From the Banū 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy:

- Wahb ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ.

Those who were killed from the Anṣār then the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Rabi’.

And from the Banū Zurayq:

- ‘Abbād ibn Mā’iṣ.

‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah recited poetry about this battle:

“As you have conveyed me and carried my baggage
for four nights after Ḥisā,
your praise is a blessing and you are free from blame,
and I shall not return to my people behind me.
The Muslims have returned but left me behind
in Rome where I desire to stay.
There I care not about the spadix of a male date palm
nor date trees whose roots need water.”

Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb left for the Levant on business. He visited Caesar, who sent for him, asking him about the Prophet ﷺ. When Abū Sufyān arrived in front of him, Caesar said: “Tell me about this man who has emerged amongst you. Is he victorious over you on every occasion?”

“Every time he overcame us, I was absent”, Abū Sufyān replied. “Then, I fought them twice in their own homes. We tore open bellies, severed noses, and cut off privates.”

“Do you see him as dishonest or truthful?” Caesar asked.

“He is a liar”, Abū Sufyān replied.

“Do not say that, for dishonesty grants victory to none!” Caesar said. “If he is a Prophet amongst you, then do not kill him, for the people that did that the most were the Jews.”

‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥah also said about the Battle of Mu’tah:

“O my soul! I see you hold Paradise in disdain!

I swear by Allah, there you will remain!

Residing willingly or compelled to its shade!”

They say – and Allah knows best – that Ya’lā ibn Munyah came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ with information about the people of Mu’tah, and that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to him: “If you wish, inform me; or if you wish, I will inform you.”

He replied: “Rather, you inform me, O Messenger of Allah.”

So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ told them all about them and described the situation in Mu'tah to them [in detail], to which he said: "By the One Who sent you with the Truth, you did not leave out even one word of their story without mentioning it. Their matter is exactly as you mentioned."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "Allah ﷻ raised the Earth for me until I saw their battleground."

And they say – and Allah knows best – that Ibn Rawāḥah wept when he was about to leave for Mu'tah, and that when his family saw that they cried also. He said: "By Allah, I am not weeping because of a fear of death or an attachment and longing for you, but rather I am weeping because of the statement of Allah ﷻ: 'There is none of you who will not pass over it (the Širāṭ, the Bridge over Hell). [This is] a decree your Lord must fulfil.'²²² I know that I will pass over it, but I do not know if I will survive or not."

THE LIBERATION OF MECCA

The Banū Nufāthah [clan] of the Banū al-Dīl attacked the Banū Ka'b whilst they were in the truce period between the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the Quraysh. The Banū Ka'b had a truce with the Messenger ﷺ, and the Banū Nufāthah had a truce with the Quraysh. The Banū Bakr supported the Banū Nufāthah, and the Quraysh supported them with weapons and servants. The Banū Mudlij distanced themselves, fulfilling the agreement they had concluded with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

There were two chieftains of the Banū al-Dīl: Salmā ibn al-Aswad and Kulthūm ibn al-Aswad. They mention that those who supported them included Šafwān ibn Umayyah, Shaybah ibn 'Uthmān, and Suhayl ibn 'Amr. The Banū al-Dīl engaged the Banū 'Amr, most of them being – they say – women, children, and weak men. They compelled them and killed, making them enter the house of Budayl ibn Warqā' in Mecca.

The poet of the Banū al-Dīl recited:

"Has it not come to the knowledge of the distant Abyssinians that
We repelled the Banū Ka'b with broken arrows, without arrowheads?
We imprisoned them in the dwelling of Rāfi's slave,
And with Budayl also, imprisoned without any help.

²²² Maryam, 71.

We imprisoned them till they were extremely distressed,
Whereafter we blew for them a rain torrent from every mountain
pass.

We slaughter them like goats, as though we are
Lions, vying to get our arrows into them.”

The poet of the Banū Ka‘b, Budayl ibn Abī Aṣram said:
“A boastful people made a pact, but we left not
Any leader of theirs to assemble them besides Nāqil.
Is it due to fear of the former people whom you disdain
That you went past al-Watīr, frightened, without returning?
Is it every year that we give our gift
Of blood-money, but no blood-money is gifted to us?
We raided their homes in Tilā’ at dawn,
With our swords that remove the blame of the complainers.
We defended between Bayḍ and ‘Atwad
Till the slopes of Raḍwā from the tribes’ attacks.
In the battle at Kadīd did ‘Ubays quickly retreat;
We frightened him through our strong leader.
We left the Banū Rizn...”²²³

A unit from the Banū Ka‘b came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and told
him about what had happened to them, and what the Quraysh had done
against them and how they had helped against them.

Their poet said:

“O my Lord, I implore Muḥammad
With the ancient pact between our father and his.
We were like parents, and you were like children,
And then we accepted Islam and did not withdraw our support.
So, help – may Allah guide you – with strong support,
And call Allah’s servants to come as reinforcements.
In their midst is the Messenger of Allah, fully devoted
Amongst an army like the foaming sea.
They set up guards lying in wait at Kadā’,
Claiming that I did not call anyone,

223 A segment of this line has been omitted in the original text. [IGP-TD]

When it is they who are weakest and least in number.”

Ḥassān ibn al-Thābit recited:

“It hurt me, albeit I did not witness, in Mecca’s valley
The callers of the Banū Ka’b having their necks dragged.
Would that I knew if my help will even affect
Suhayl ibn ‘Amr, with its heat and its hurt.
And Ṣafwān, an old man who grunts from his backside
That is that – war has had its girths tightened,
At the hands of men who are yet to unsheathe their swords.
And people slain have not yet had their shrouds covered.”²²⁴

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to them: “Go back and disperse through the land.”

Abū Sufyān left Mecca towards the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and feared what had happened.

He met the group from the Banū ‘Amr who had gone to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ whilst heading towards their families. He was scared they may have been coming from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and asked: “What news do you have regarding Yathrib?”

They replied: “We have no knowledge thereof.”

Fearing they may be hiding it from him, he said: “Do you have any dates from Yathrib you can give me to eat?”

They replied in the negative.

Thereafter, he went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “O Muḥammad, strengthen the pact and increase the term.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “That is why you have come. Has something happened on your side?”

He replied: “God forbid! We are true to our pact and treaty on the day of Khandamah. We shall not change or alter.”

He then left the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and went to Abū Bakr, and said: “Renew the pact and increase the term.”

“My covenant lies with the covenant of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ”, said Abū Bakr. “By Allah, if I were to find ants fighting you, I would support them against you.”

224 Translator’s note: i.e., they have not yet been buried.

Thereafter, he went to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke to him. 'Umar said: "Whatever pact of ours is new, may Allah make it old. If it is already established, may Allah cut it. And whatever of it is cut, may Allah connect it."

Abū Sufyān said [to himself]: "You have been repaid badly by a relative."

Then, he went to 'Uthmān and spoke to him, to which 'Uthmān said: "My covenant lies with the covenant of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ." He went after the nobles amongst the Quraysh and the Anṣār, but all of them would say: "Our pact lies with the pact of the Messenger of Allah."

After losing all hope from them, he went to Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and spoke to her. She replied: "I am only a woman. That is only for the Messenger of Allah to decide."

"So tell one of your sons", he said.

"They are only children. Their likes cannot offer protection." "Then speak to 'Alī", he said, to which she replied: "Speak to him yourself."

He spoke to 'Alī, who said: "O Abū Sufyān, none of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ can offer protection in opposition to him. But you are the leader of the Quraysh, and their leader and protector. So, you grant protection to your people."²²⁵

He replied: "You have spoken the truth. I am like that."

He then left and proclaimed: "Listen! I have given protection to the people, and by Allah, I do not believe anyone will betray me."

Thereafter, he went to the Prophet ﷺ and said: "O Muḥammad, I have granted protection to the people. By Allah, I do not believe anyone will betray me or reject my protection."

The Prophet replied: "You are saying that, O Abū Ḥanzalah (i.e., not me)."

Abū Sufyān left on that note. They say – and Allah knows best – that when Abū Sufyān turned back, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "O Allah, seize their hearing and sight, so that they do not see us except suddenly and they do not hear us except unexpectedly." Abū Sufyān came back to Mecca. "What news do you have?" asked the Quraysh. "Have you brought any written decree or pact from Muḥammad?"

²²⁵ This was from 'Alī's genius ﷺ. He was indicating to Abū Sufyān that he should leave the Prophet's Companions alone, as there was no way to avoid the results of the breaking of the treaty, as is indicated by the reaction of Quraysh when he informed them that he had placed them under his protection.

He said: “No, by Allah. He refused me that. I carefully observed his Companions. I have not seen any people more obedient to their king then they are to him. However, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib said to me, ‘Why do you seek people’s protection against Muḥammad and not yourself grant protection to him and your people, when you are the leader of the Quraysh and their senior, and most worthy of your protection not being betrayed?’ So, I decided to grant protection and then went to Muḥammad and mentioned to him that I had granted protection to the people. I also said, ‘I do not believe you will betray me’, but he said, ‘You, O Abū Ḥanẓalah, are saying this.”

They responded: “You agreed reluctantly and you have brought us that which is of no use to either us or you. ‘Alī has only played you. By Allah, your protection is no protection, and betraying you is very easy for them.”

He then went to his wife and told her the whole story. She said: “As an envoy of the people – may Allah disfigure your mouth. You have not brought anything good.”

People had said he had embraced Islam when his stay became lengthy. When that came to his knowledge, he shaved his head near the two idols by the Ka’bah for people to see that he is still on his former religion.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw a cloud and said: “This cloud is going to rain to help the Banū Ka’b.”

After Abū Sufyān left from him, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ tarried as long as Allah wished for him to tarry, and then prepared with full vigour. He instructed ‘Āishah to prepare his luggage and to do so secretly.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then left for the mosque or something he needed to do. Abū Bakr ؓ came to ‘Āishah and found that she had wheat by her from which dust was being removed or which was being cleaned.

He asked her: “Daughter, why are you making this food?”

She remained silent.

“Is the Messenger of Allah intending to go to battle?”

She remained silent.

He then said: “Perhaps he is intending the Banū al-Aṣfar (i.e., the Romans)”, mentioning some negative things they had done at that time.

She still remained silent.

“Perhaps he is intending the people of Najd”, mentioning something similar about them. She remained silent.

“Perhaps he is intending the Quraysh, but they have a term.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then came to them. Abū Bakr said: “O

Messenger of Allah, are you intending to head out somewhere?”

“Yes”, he replied.

“Perhaps you are intending the Banū al-Aṣfar.” He replied in the negative.

“Are you intending the people of Najd?” He again replied in the negative.

“Perhaps you are intending the Quraysh then.”

“Yes”, he said. Abū Bakr asked: “O Messenger of Allah, is there not a term between you and them?” He replied: “Has what the Banū Ka'b done not reached you?”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ announced to the people about setting out to fight.

Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Balta'ah, one of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, wrote a letter to the Quraysh, informing them that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had announced to the people about going out to fight, that he felt he was only heading for them, and he wanted some support from them for writing them this letter.

Ḥāṭib gave his letter to a woman from Muzaynah and paid her to convey it. He said: “Hide it as much as you can”, so she put it in her hair.

Allah informed His Messenger ﷺ regarding the letter, and so he sent 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib – Allah's peace be upon him – and al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, saying: “A man amongst my Companions has written a letter which he has sent with a woman towards the Quraysh, informing them of our matter. So, head out and pursue her, for you shall catch up with her.”

They travelled until they caught up with the woman at the valley of Ratam. They said: “The letter the man wrote and sent with you to the Quraysh.”

She replied: “I have no letter.” They did not leave anything she had except that they looked into it. They even opened her saddle and looked into its two cantles, but they could not find anything.

They said: “Allah knows the letter is with you. Open your hair.” When she realized they were not going to leave her until she opened her hair, she took out the letter. They then brought it to the Prophet ﷺ who then called for Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Balta'ah.

He said: “Woe unto you! What caused you to do what you did?”

Ḥāṭib said: “By Allah, I did not do it because Allah & His Messenger ﷺ are not more beloved to me than everything else. However, I am a person who is not actually part of any tribe. I have family and wealth in Mecca

but nobody there to defend them. So, I wrote this letter to them to earn their favour.”

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ said: “O Messenger of Allah, allow me to strike his neck.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “What do you know? Perhaps Allah looked at the participants of Badr and said, ‘Do as you please, for I shall surely forgive you.’”

Allah sent down regarding this: “O believers! Do not take My enemies and yours as trusted allies, showing them affection even though they deny what has come to you of the truth...” up to: “...and I know best whatever you conceal and whatever you reveal. And whoever of you does this has truly strayed from the Right Way.”²²⁶

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out – as is reported – with 12,000 of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, and people of different groups of the Arabs: the Aslam, Ghifār, Muzaynah, Juhaynah, and the Banū Sulaym. They led their horses, with Allah keeping their travelling unknown to the people of Mecca, until they lodged at Marr al-Zahrān.

The Quraysh sent Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and Ḥakīm ibn Hizām, along with Budayl ibn Warqā’. When they looked out onto Marr [al-Zahrān] on reaching the *arāk*²²⁷ trees at night, they saw fires, tents, and the army, causing them alarm. They said: “This is the Banū Ka’b; war has incited them.” Then, they turned to one another and said: “These people are more than the Banū Ka’b”, and then they said: “Perhaps they are Hawāzin, looking for pasture in our lands. But, by Allah, we do not know that either.” Whilst in discussion, they were unwittingly caught by a group of spies the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had sent with their camel’s reigns.

They asked: “Who are you?”

“This is the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions”, they replied.

Abū Sufyān asked: “Have you ever heard of such a big army landing themselves right in the heart of a people without them knowing about them?”

When they were taken into the camp, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib met them and granted them protection, and said: “O Abū Ḥanzalah, may your mother and your clan be bereft of you. Here is Muḥammad amongst

226 *al-Mumtaḥanah*, 1.

227 Translator’s note: A tree whose branches are commonly used as *siwāk*.

the group of believers – go to him and embrace Islam.” They went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and spent most of the night by him. He was talking to them and asking them questions, and then he invited them to Islam. He said to them: “Testify that there is no god besides Allah”, to which they testified. Then, he said: “Testify that I am the Messenger of Allah.”

Ḥakīm and Budayl testified, but Abū Sufyān said: “I do not know that.”

Abū Sufyān went out with al-‘Abbās. When the call to prayer was given, people rushed. Abū Sufyān was startled and asked al-‘Abbās: “What do they want?”

“To pray”, he replied.

Abū Sufyān saw the Muslims eagerly acquiring the water from the *wuḍū’* of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and said: “I have never seen a kingdom like I have tonight – neither the kingdom of Khosrow, nor that of Caesar or that of the Romans.” Abū Sufyān then asked al-‘Abbās to take him to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and so he did.

Abū Sufyān said: “O Muḥammad, I sought help from my god and I sought help from your God. And by Allah, I have never met you except that you have overpowered me. Had my god been true and your God been false, I would have overpowered you.” Thereafter, he testified that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah.

Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm both said: “O Messenger of Allah, did you bring the riffraff amongst people – whom you know and do not know – to your family and clan?”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “They are more oppressive and evil. You breached the pact of Ḥudaybiyyah and aided against the Banū Ka’b sinfully and oppressively in the Ḥaram and place of security of Allah.”

Budayl said: “You have spoken the truth, O Messenger of Allah, but they betrayed us. By Allah, if the Quraysh had left us to our enemy, they would not have been able to do to us what they did.”

Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm said: “O Messenger of Allah, it was more appropriate for you to make your preparations and scheme for Hawāzin, because they are less related and more hateful.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “I hope that my Lord will combine both things for me: the conquest of Mecca and honouring Islam thereby, and the defeat of Hawāzin, along with their wealth and progeny.”

Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm said: “O Messenger of Allah, call people peacefully. If the Quraysh were to withhold themselves and restrain their hand, will they be safe?”

“Yes”, said the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. “Whoever restrains his hand and locks his door will be safe.”

They said: “Send us so that we can announce this amongst them.”

He replied: “Go. Whoever enters your house, O Abū Sufyān, or your house, O Ḥakīm, and restrains his hand, will be safe.”

Abū Sufyān’s house was at the upper part of Mecca whilst Ḥakīm’s house was at the lower part. When they headed off, al-‘Abbās said: “O Messenger of Allah, I do not feel safe from Abū Sufyān renegading from Islam and disbelieving. Call him back so you can stop him for him to see Allah’s armies with you.”

‘Abbās then caught up with him and stopped him. Abū Sufyān said: “Are you betraying, O Banū Hāshim?” Al-‘Abbās replied: “You shall soon realize that we do not betray. However, I need something from you. So, wait until morning to see the armies of Allah and what Allah has prepared for the polytheists.”

He stopped them at the narrow part [of the valley] below the *arāk* trees towards Mecca until morning. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed someone to announce: “Let every tribe that has set off stand by its leader’s standard in the morning, and show whatever weapons and preparations they have.”

So, in the morning the people were all prepared to travel. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent the battalions ahead of him. One battalion passed by Abū Sufyān, who said: “O ‘Abbās, is the Messenger of Allah ﷺ in this?”

He replied in the negative.

“Who are they then?”

“Quḍā’ah”, he replied. Thereafter, the tribes passed by with their standards, a great spectacle which he beheld and through which Allah filled him with awe.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ dispatched al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām as leader of the Muhājirūn and their cavalry, instructing him to enter from Kadā’, the upper part of Mecca. He gave him his standard and ordered him to fix it into the ground at al-Ḥajūn, and that she not move from the place he had ordered him to fix it until he arrives.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Khālīd ibn al-Walīd with those who had accepted Islam from Quḍā’ah and the Banū Sulaym, and some people who had accepted Islam earlier. He instructed him to enter from the lower part of Mecca and to fix his standard into the ground by the nearest houses. In the lower part of Mecca resided the Banū Bakr, the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Abd Manāh, Hudhayl, and the Abyssinians from whom the Quraysh

sought help and whom they ordered to stay in the lower part of Mecca.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah in the battalion of the Anṣār at the front of the army of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and Sa'd gave the standard to Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah. The Messenger ﷺ ordered them to restrain their hands and not fight anyone unless they are fought. He ordered them to kill four people amongst them: 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ²²⁸, al-Ḥārith ibn Nuqayd²²⁹, Ibn Khaṭal²³⁰, and Miqyas ibn Ṣubābah²³¹, one of the Banū Layth from Kalb ibn 'Awf. He also ordered them to kill two songstresses of Ibn Khaṭal who would sing lampoons about the Messenger of Allah.

The battalions, one after the other, passed by Abū Sufyan, Ḥakīm, and Budayl. No battalion passed by them except that they asked regarding them, until the battalion of the Anṣār which had Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah passed by and called out to Abū Sufyān: "Today is a day of bloody war. Today [the Ḥaram's] sanctity will be violated!"

228 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ converted to Islam early and was a scribe of the Qur'an, but he later became an apostate. After leaving the true faith, he fled to Mecca, where he began defaming the Prophet ﷺ, even claiming to have altered the Quranic words when writing them down, to have read them back to him as he wrote them down, and to have received the approval of the Prophet ﷺ to these changes. All these claims were gross lies meant to defame the Prophet of Allah ﷺ and cast aspersions on his integrity. This is why the Prophet ﷺ ordered for him to be killed. [IGP-TD]

Despite this, when he came to the Prophet ﷺ and sought to enter Islam again, the Companions did not understand the Prophet's indication to them and they did not kill him. After he explained to them what he had wanted, they offered to kill him at the time, but he told them to refrain from doing so.

He later became the deputy governor of Egypt under 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ during the *khilāfah* of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. After the latter's assassination, he fled to Damascus to obtain protection under Mu'āwiyah. He died in the year 36 AH. [IGP-TD]

229 He has also been called al-Ḥuwayrith ibn Nuqaydh, but al-Ḥārith ibn Nuqayd is the more correct rendition according to *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. He was one of the early converts to Islam. He later apostatized and became one of the abusers of the Prophet ﷺ. While al-'Abbās was escorting the two daughters of the Prophet ﷺ, namely Fāṭimah and Umm Kulthūm, he poked their mount and they fell off it. [IGP-TD]

230 'Abdullāh ibn Khaṭal. He was from the Banū Tamīm of Najd. It is said that his original name was 'Abd al-'Uzzā, which was changed after he converted to Islam. He served as the treasurer of the alms that were given in Medina. On one occasion, while he was in the desert tending to some camels that were given in charity, he argued with another Muslim and killed him. He then fled to Mecca, renounced Islam, and began to speak ill of the Prophet ﷺ. He also purchased two servant girls who he would have chant songs abusing the Prophet ﷺ. However, it seems that his brazen acts of murder and absconson were the main reason for his not being granted amnesty. [IGP-TD]

231 His biography was provided in footnote 45, as was the reason for him not being granted amnesty. [IGP-TD]

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ passed by Abū Sufyān with the Muhājirūn, Abū Sufyān said: “O Messenger of Allah, you have ordered for your people to be killed, because when Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah and his fellows passed by me,

Sa’d called out: ‘Today is a day of bloody war. Today [the Ḥaram’s] sanctity will be violated!’ I implore you in Allah’s name regarding your people.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then sent a message for Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah to be deposed, and replaced him with al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām in charge of the Anṣār as well as the Muhājirūn. Al-Zubayr marched with the people until he stopped at al-Ḥajūn and fixed the standard of the Messenger of Allah into the ground there.

Khālid ibn al-Walīd moved swiftly until he entered from the lower part of Mecca. The Banū Bakr encountered him and fought him but were defeated. Approximately 20 men from the Banū Bakr were killed. Three or four of Hudhayl were killed, and they were defeated and killed at al-Ḥazwarah. The killing reached the entrance to the mosque and those who separated [from the main troops] fled and entered the homes. A group of them climbed onto the mountains and were pursued by the Muslims with swords.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ entered amongst the foremost Muhājirūn, amidst the last of the people’s standards. Abū Sufyān shouted as he entered Mecca: “Whoever locks his door and restrains his hand will be safe.” Hind bint ‘Utbah, his wife, retorted: “May Allah disfigure your mouth as a scout for the people, and may He disfigure your clan too!” She then grabbed Abū Sufyān’s beard and called out: “O family of Ghālib! Kill the old fool! Why did you not fight and defend yourselves and your lands?”

“Woe unto you! Be quiet and go into your house, for he has brought us the truth”, said Abū Sufyān.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ascended the mountain of Kadā²³², he looked towards the shining swords on the mountain with the polytheists who had dispersed. He said: “What is this, when I had forbidden fighting?”

The Muhājirūn said: “We believe Khālid was attacked first, and so he had no choice but to fight those who fought him. O Messenger of Allah,

232 One of the hills that surround Mecca. [IGP-TD]

he is not one to disobey you or oppose your command.” The Messenger of Allah then came down the mountain and passed by al-Ḥajūn, and al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām proceeded quickly until he went and stood by the door of the Ka’bah.

Two men amongst the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ were injured: Kurz ibn Jābir of the Banū Muḥarib ibn Fihr, and Khunays ibn Khālid – Khālid referred to as al-Ash‘ar – one of the Banū Ka’b.

On that day, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ ordered the execution of a certain group: the execution of ‘Abdullāh ibn Sa’d ibn Abī Sarḥ, who had renegaded after migrating. He went into hiding until the people had settled, and then came intending to pledge allegiance to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. However, he turned away in order for one of his Companions to stand towards him and kill him, but nobody stood. They had not realized what the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had in mind, and so one of them said: “If you had indicated to me, I would have struck his neck.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Do not do that.” ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, who was his foster-brother, granted him protection. One of the two songstresses was killed, and the other was taken into hiding until protection was sought for her.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ entered [the Sacred Mosque] and circumambulated the House seven times on his mount, touching the corners with a curved stick. Many people arrived until the Mosque was brimming and the polytheists gathered around to watch the Messenger ﷺ and his Companions. Once he had completed his *ṭawāf*, he alighted, his riding camel was taken out, and he performed two *rak’ahs* (units of prayer). Thereafter, he turned towards the Zamzam well, looked inside, and said: “Were it not for the fear that the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib will have their providing water [to pilgrims] taken off them, I would have drawn from it with my own hand.”

He then turned towards the end of the Mosque, close to the Station (Maqām) of Ibrāhīm. The Station, they claim, was joined to the Ka’bah and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ brought it back to its current place. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ called for a bucket of Zamzam water, and then drank and performed *wuḍū’*. The Muslims were rushing to obtain the *wuḍū’* water of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, pouring it onto their faces, whilst the polytheists were looking at them in amazement, saying: “We have never seen or heard any kingdom reaching this level.”

Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah fled towards the sea and ‘Umayr ibn Wahb

ibn Khalaf came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, requesting him to grant amnesty to Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah. He said: "He has fled towards the sea, and I fear he will kill himself. So, send me to him with amnesty, as you have done so for whites and blacks."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: "Go get your cousin, for he is safe."

ʿUmayr pursued him and caught up with him, and told him: "The Messenger of Allah ﷺ has granted you amnesty."

"By Allah! I will not believe you until I see a sign of amnesty that I recognize."

ʿUmayr said: "Stay where you are until I bring it to you." ʿUmayr then returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: "Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah refused to believe until he sees a sign from you which he recognizes." The Messenger of Allah ﷺ removed a striped *hibarah* cloth, which he had wrapped around his head and draped on his face when he entered Mecca, and gave it to ʿUmayr ibn Wahb. When Ṣafwān saw the cloth, he was convinced and felt at ease, and came accompanying ʿUmayr until they entered the Mosque and went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

"Have you given me the amnesty this person is claiming?" said Ṣafwān.

"Yes", he said.

"Give me one month."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "No. Rather, you have two months. Perhaps Allah Almighty and Exalted will guide you."

Ibn Shihāb said: "Ṣafwān, who was riding his horse, called the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: 'O Muḥammad! You have granted me amnesty as this person said. If I am satisfied, that is fine; otherwise, allow me to travel for two months.' The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, 'Get down, O Abū Wahb.'"

"I will not get down until you make matters clear to me", he said.

He replied, "You can travel for four months."

Umm Ḥakīm bint al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, who was a Muslim then and was married to ʿIkrimah ibn Abī Jahl, came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and sought his permission to search for her husband. He gave her permission and amnesty. She left with a Roman slave of hers who tried to seduce her. She continued leading him on, making him feel she was close [to succumbing] until she came to some people from ʿAkk. She sought their help against him, so they tied him up for her whilst she met up with her husband. When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ saw ʿIkrimah, he jumped to his feet out of joy, not wearing any shawl, and took his pledge of allegiance.

A woman met up with him in Tihāmah who also came with him and accepted Islam.

A man from Hudhayl came, having fled when the Banū Bakr were defeated, so she censured him, called him hopeless, and taunted him for having fled. He replied:

“Had you seen us in al-Khandamah²³³,
when Ṣafwān fled and so did ‘Ikrimah,
and the Muslims met us with their swords,
severing every arm and skull,
you would not have uttered the slightest word of censure.”

Ibn Shihāb said that Ḥimās, one of the Banū Sa’d ibn Layth, said this.

THE REST OF THE LIBERATION OF MECCA

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to Khālīd ibn al-Walīd: “Why did you fight when I forbade you from fighting?”

He replied: “They initiated the fighting, employed their weapons against us, and covered us in arrows. I had restrained myself as much as I could.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “The Decree of Allah is good.”

The entering of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and the liberation of Mecca occurred in Ramadan, 8 AH.

It is related that Abū Bakr رضي الله عنه said: “O Messenger of Allah, I saw in a dream that you and I had approached Mecca. A dog came out towards us snarling, but when we approached, it lay down on its back and was suddenly pouring with milk.” He said: “Their illness has gone, and their udders have come forth. They will plead with you through their kinship. You are going to encounter them. So, if you encounter Abū Sufyān, do not kill him.” They met Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām in Marr.

Ḥassān ibn al-Thābit the Poet said about the departure of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to Mecca:

“May I lose my daughters if you do not see them

233 The highest mountain in Mecca. [IGP-TD]

Make the dust rise on both sides of Kadā'
 They pull at the reigns early at dawn,
 With the women slapping them on their veils.
 If you turn away from us, we shall perform 'Umrah,
 And the conquest will occur, and the veil shall be removed.
 Otherwise, be patient for the severeness of a day
 In which Allah will honour whom He wills.
 Jibrīl, the Emissary of Allah, is amongst us;
 And the Holy Spirit has no likeness.
 You lampooned Muḥammad, so I responded on his behalf,
 And with Allah lies the reward for that.
 Can he amongst you who lampoons the Messenger of Allah
 And he who praises and aids him be equal?
 My tongue is a sharp sword without any blemish,
 and my verse²³⁴ cannot be made turbid with buckets."

It is mentioned that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ smiled at Abū Bakr when he saw the women striking the horses with their veils.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent for Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah regarding some weapons which were said to be with him, and so he questioned him about them. Ṣafwān said: "Where is the amnesty? Are you going to take them forcefully?" The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: "If you want to keep your weapons, keep them. And if you want to lend them to me, they are my responsibility until they are returned to you." Ṣafwān said: "That is no issue. I have lent them to you." That day he gave him – they say – 100 coats of armour and weapons. Ṣafwān possessed a lot of weapons. So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to him: "Take charge of carrying them for us", and so Ṣafwān carried them.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ stayed in Mecca for over ten nights.

It is said that on the Day of Ḥunayn, he was accompanied by 1,008 men from Muzaynah, 400 from [the Banū] Aslam, and the same from [the Banū] Ghifār.

234 Translator's note: the Arabic for verse is *baḥr*, which also means sea.

THE BATTLE OF ḤUNAYN

Next, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out for Ḥunayn. As the Messenger of Allah ﷺ approached, the people of Ḥunayn assumed that he was launching an attack on them, but Allah arranged something better than that for His Messenger ﷺ. Allah granted him victory over Mecca, comforting him therewith and subduing his enemy.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out for Ḥunayn, he was joined by the people of Mecca, none of whom stayed behind, both riding and on foot. Even the women marched out with him, despite being under no obligation to do so. They went out as spectators to watch and were hopeful of war spoils, not disliking that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions ﷺ be subjected to any harm.

Every time a shield or sword dropped from the luggage of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb would call out to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ: “Give it to me to carry”, until he had overloaded his camel.

Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah travelled alongside the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, participating in Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if whilst he was still a disbeliever and his wife was a Muslim. Nevertheless, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ did not separate him and his wife.

At that time, the leader of the polytheists in Ḥunayn was Mālik ibn 'Awf al-Naṣrī. He was accompanied by Durayd ibn al-Ṣimmah who was quivering due to old age, and alongside them were women, children, camels, and goats. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ called for 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī and sent him to the enemy camp as a spy. He proceeded until he drew close to Mālik ibn 'Awf that night, and he heard Mālik advising his companions, saying: “In the morning, launch a unified attack on the people, break the sheaths of your swords, put your animals in one row and your women in another row, and then attack the enemy.”

Ibn Abī Ḥadrad returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and informed him of the news. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ called for 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and said: “Listen to what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad has to say.”

“Ibn Abī Ḥadrad has lied”, 'Umar ﷺ responded.

“If you are belying me, O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb”, Ibn Abī Ḥadrad said: “perhaps you also belied the truth.”

“O Messenger of Allah, do you not hear what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad is saying?” 'Umar ﷺ protested.

“He has spoken the truth”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied. “You were astray and Allah guided you.”

When the people awoke the next morning and glanced at one another, Abū Sufyān, Ṣafwān, Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, and Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām withdrew behind a hillock, waiting to see who shall be victorious. The people made rows with one another, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ mounted a grey mule of his, faced the ranks and commanded and galvanized them to fight, giving them glad tidings of victory if they persevered and remained sincere.

Whilst they were in this position, the polytheists launched a unified assault on the Muslims, and the Muslims went round once and turned their backs. Ḥārithah ibn al-Nu‘mān narrated: “I estimated the number of those who remained with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ when the people fled and said them to be one hundred men.”

A man from the Quraysh passed by Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah and said: “Glad tidings on the defeat of Muḥammad and his companions, for by Allah they will never recover from it.”

“Are you giving me glad tidings on the victory of the Bedouins?” Ṣafwān replied. “For by Allah, I would prefer a master from the Quraysh to a master from the Bedouins!”

Ṣafwān dispatched a servant of his, saying: “Listen to whose war call it is.”

His servant came back to him and reported: “I heard them saying: ‘O Banū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, O Banū ‘Abdillāh, O Banū ‘Ubaydillāh.’” Ṣafwān said: “Muḥammad is victorious”, as that was their war call.

When the fighting surrounded the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, he stood on his stirrups whilst on the mule, and they say he lifted his hands towards Allah and supplicated to Him, saying: “O Allah, I implore You for what You promised me. O Allah, it does not befit them to overpower us.” He called upon his Companions and spurred them: “O people of the pledge on the Day of Ḥudaybiyyah, be mindful of Allah regarding the assault on your Prophet.” They say he also said: “O Helpers of Allah and Helpers of His Prophet! O Banū Khazraj!” ordering some of his Companions to announce the same. He took a handful of small pebbles and cast them in the faces of the polytheists in every direction they were in, and said: “May their faces turn ugly.”

His Companions came rushing towards him – it is said they were vying with one another – and he said: “O people of Sūrah al-Baqarah.”

They say that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Now the battle is really raging!” Allah then defeated His enemies in every direction in which the Messenger of Allah ﷺ threw the pebbles, and the Muslims pursued them in those directions and killed them. Allah granted them their women, children, and goats as war spoils.

Mālik ibn ‘Awf fled until he entered the fortress of Ṭā’if amongst some of the leaders of his people. At that point, many people from the people of Mecca embraced Islam, on seeing how Allah helped His Messenger ﷺ and granted honour to His religion.

The Muslims who were killed that day from the Quraysh then the Banū Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā:

- Yazīd ibn Zam‘ah.

And from the Anṣār then the Banū al-‘Ajlān:

- Murrah ibn Surāqah ibn al-Ḥubāb.

Some of the people of Ḥunayn remained in Awṭās, so the Messenger of Allah ﷺ dispatched Abū ‘Āmir al-Ash‘arī towards them and Allah thus defeated them. Abū ‘Āmir was shot in the knee and died as a result.

Thereafter, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ distributed the booty or whatever thereof Allah wished. He gave the people of Mecca amongst the Quraysh a great amount of booty, and he also distributed to others who had come out to Ḥunayn with a view to win their hearts. He gave some of them 100 camels and others 100 goats. But he withheld a substantial amount of the booty from his Companions, and so the Anṣār felt very upset about this, saying: “We are there at every difficult place, but then he has preferred his own people over us and distributed to them that which he has not distributed to us. We do not think he has done that except because he wishes to reside amongst them.”

When these statements of theirs reached the Prophet ﷺ, he came to them where they were staying and gathered them. He said: “Whoever is here from other than the Anṣār should return to his dwelling.” He then read the testification after which he said: “I have been told that you have reproved the fact that in the war spoils I have given preference to people whose hearts I am trying to win over to Islam and for them to gain understanding [of the religion]. Allah has already entered faith into your hearts, granted you His special honour, and given you the best of names. Are

you not pleased for people to take war spoils whilst you return with the Messenger of Allah? By Allah, had it not been for the Migration (i.e., were I not from Mecca), I would have been a man from the Anṣār. If people were to tread one valley whilst you tread another, I would tread your valley. So, be pleased, as you are the inner garment whilst others are the outer garment.”

When they heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ say all that, they cried profusely and said: “Allah and His Messenger ﷺ have done us a great favour and are better.” He said: “Respond to me regarding what I have spoken to you about.” They replied: “You found us, O Messenger of Allah, in extreme darkness, and Allah took us out therefrom into Paradise through you. You found us on the brink of a fiery pit, and Allah then saved us through you. You found us misguided, and Allah then guided us through you. And you found us weak and small in number, and Allah then strengthened us and increased our numbers through you. We are pleased with Allah as our Lord, with Islam as our religion, and with Muḥammad as our Messenger. So, do as you please, as you are entirely absolved.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “By Allah, had you responded to me differently, I would have said: ‘You have spoken the truth.’ Had you said: ‘You came to us banished, and we gave you refuge; belied, and we believed you; abandoned, and we helped you; and we accepted what other people threw back at you,’ I would have said: ‘You have spoken the truth.’”

The Anṣār said: “Rather, Allah and His Messenger’s favour and grace is upon us and others besides us.” They cried a second time even more and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ cried along with them – may Allah be pleased with them. They were more pleased and rejoicing at what they heard from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ than wealth.

‘Abbās ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī said when he saw the Messenger ﷺ distributing the spoils and he was asking the Messenger of Allah ﷺ for more:

“They are the spoils I acquired,
By charging on my horse in the rugged plains.
I kept the tribe awake so they would not fall asleep;
When other people slept I did not.
My share and that of al-‘Ubayd went
Between ‘Uyaynah and al-Aqra’.
I was fully capable in the battle,
But still I received nothing nor was I defended,

Besides a few small camels I was granted,
Equal in number to their four legs.
Neither Badr nor Ḥābis were
Above Mirdās in the assembly.
I was no less than either of the two;
And whoever you debase today shall never be elevated.”

His words reached the Messenger of Allah ﷺ who called for him, and said: “You are the one who said: ‘My share and that of al-‘Ubayd went between al-Aqra’ and ‘Uyaynah?’” Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (the Veracious) said: “May my father and mother be sacrificed for you. He did not say it like that. By Allah, you are not a poet – poetry not being fitting for you – nor are you one who memorizes it.”

“How is it then?” he asked. Abū Bakr ﷺ then recited it, to which the Prophet ﷺ said: “They are both the same. It does not matter which of them – al-Aqra’ or ‘Uyaynah – you say first.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then said: “Sever his tongue from me”, causing him to be frightened.

They said: “He has ordered for ‘Abbās ibn Mirdās to be mutilated”, whereas by saying: “Sever his tongue from me”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ only meant to halt it by giving him goats and camels.

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-ṬĀ’IF

Next, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ marched to al-Ṭā’if and left the captives in al-Ji’rānah, with the houses of Mecca being filled with them. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ lodged at the hill by the fortress of al-Ṭā’if for over ten nights. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions were fighting them whilst Thaqīf were fighting them from behind the fortress using stones and arrows.

None of them came out to confront him besides Abū Bakrah ibn Masrūḥ, Ziyād’s uterine brother, whom the Messenger of Allah ﷺ freed. Many were wounded.

They cut some of their vineyards to infuriate them, but Thaqīf said: “Do not destroy the property, because it is either ours or yours.” The Muslims sought permission from him to attack the fortress. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “I do not think we will be able to conquer it, and we have not been permitted this just yet.”

Muslims who were killed that day from the Quraysh then the Banū Umayyah ibn ‘Abd Shams, and they were five individuals:

- Sa‘īd ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ.
- ‘Urfuṭah ibn al-Ḥubāb, also known as Abū Awfā ibn ‘Urfuṭah.

From the Banū Makhzūm:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn Abī Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah.

From the Banū ‘Adī ibn Ka‘b:

- ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Āmir ibn Rabī‘ah, who had no male children to succeed him. He was the eldest and his younger brother was named after him.

From the Banū Sahm:

- Al-Sā‘ib ibn al-Ḥārith.
- ‘Abdullāh ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was shot with an arrow that day, and he continued tending to it (i.e., the wound) until he died during the beginning of Abū Bakr’s rule.

Those who were killed from the Anṣār then the Banū Salimah:

- Thābit ibn Tha‘labah. This was the Tha‘labah also known as al-Jadha‘.

From the Banū Sā‘idah:

- Al-Mundhir ibn ‘Abbād ibn Qawwāl.

From the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf then the Banū Mu‘āwiyah:

- Ruqaym ibn Thābit ibn Tha‘labah.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then returned from al-Ṭā‘if in Shawwāl towards al-Ji‘rānah where the captives were. Delegations of Hawāzin came to him submittingly, with nine of their leaders amongst them. They accepted Islam and pledged allegiance to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. Then, they spoke to him regarding those who had been taken captive, saying: “O Messenger of Allah, amongst those taken captive are mothers, sisters, paternal aunts, and maternal aunts. They can cause the people humiliation. We petition to Allah and to you, O Prophet of Allah.” He ﷺ was merciful, generous, and benevolent, and so he said: “I shall request that

for you, but the distribution has already been completed. So, which of the two matters do you prefer: shall I request the captives for you or the wealth?" They said: "You have given us a choice, O Messenger of Allah, between family and wealth; family is more beloved to us. We are not going to discuss goats or camels." The Messenger of Allah ﷺ then said: "As for what belongs to the Banū Hāshim, it is yours. And I shall speak to the Muslims and intercede on your behalf. So, speak to them and display your having accepted Islam, and say: 'We are your brothers in faith.'" He taught them the testimonies of faith and how to speak, and said to them: "I deliberated regarding you for over eleven days."

Once the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had prayed Zuhur, they stood and sought permission from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to speak. He granted them permission and their orators then spoke, speaking duly and eloquently, petitioning them to return their captives. Once they finished, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ stood, and interceded for them, and encouraged the Muslims thereto. He said: "I have returned to them what belongs to the Banū Hāshim and me. Whoever amongst you wants to give, without being compelled, let him do so. But whoever dislikes to give and [instead] takes a ransom, then their ransom is my responsibility." The people gave away whomever of them they possessed, besides a few people who asked for the ransom.

Al-Qāsim narrated to us from Ibn Abī Uways, from Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqbah, from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, who said:

Ibn Shihāb said: "Urwah ibn al-Zubayr narrated to me that Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Miswar ibn Makhramah informed him that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, when giving the people permission to free the slaves of Hawāzin: 'I do not know which of you have given permission and which have not, so go back to your chiefs to bring your matter to us.'" The people went back and were spoken to by their chiefs, who then returned to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and told him that the people had gladly consented.

Ibn Shihāb said: "Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib and 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr informed me that Hawāzin captives returned by the Messenger ﷺ were 6,000 men, women, and children, and that he gave a choice to women who were with some men from the Quraysh. Amongst these men were 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah. They had taken the two women with them as slaves, but they then preferred their own people."

It is mentioned that 'Uyaynah ibn Badr did not give them consent and

encouraged people to refuse them [the captives]. A man from Hawāzin retorted: “You do not stop rousing against us for as long as we exist, but we have already killed your virgin, your two sons, and married off your mother Nusaykah.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked: “Did that happen?”

They said: “Some of this has happened, O Messenger of Allah.”

It is said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ instructed a group of men to proceed to Mecca and purchase *mu‘aqqad*²³⁵ clothing for the prisoners, so that none of them leave without being clothed. He said: “Detain the family of Mālik ibn ‘Awf with their paternal aunt Umm ‘Abdillāh ibn Abī Umayyah.”

The delegation said: “O Messenger of Allah, those are our leaders and the most beloved to us.”

“I only intend good for them”, replied the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He freed all the captives, and it is mentioned that they were 6,000 men, women, and children.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent for Mālik ibn ‘Awf, who had fled to the fortress of Ṭā’if, and said: “If you come to me as a Muslim, I will return your family to you, and you will receive 100 camels from me.”

Ibn Shihāb said: “Sa’īd ibn al-Musayyib informed me that ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ mandated six shares for every Arab captive who was ransomed and that he would issue the same verdict for those who married Arab female slaves.”

THE ‘UMRAH FROM AL-JI‘RĀNAH

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ commenced the ‘Umrah from al-Ji‘rānah in Dhū al-Qa‘dah, travelling to Mecca and completing his ‘Umrah. When he set out for Ḥunayn, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had left Mu‘adh ibn Jabal al-Anṣārī al-Salīmī in charge of the people of Mecca and instructed him to teach them the Qur’an and educate them in the religion.

The ‘Umrah from al-Ji‘rānah was the last of three ‘Umrahs performed by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

Next, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ set off towards the people of Medina, leaving Mu‘adh ibn Jabal in charge of the people of Mecca. He arrived

235 Translator’s note: A striped shawl made in Hajar, Yemen.

in Medina, and Allah ﷻ sent down Qur'an. He said: "Indeed Allah has given you [believers] victory on many battlefields, even at the Battle of Ḥunayn when you took pride in your great numbers, but they proved of no advantage to you. The Earth, despite its vastness, seemed to close in on you, then you turned back in retreat."²³⁶ This verse [was revealed] and the two verses after it²³⁷.

The first to arrive in Medina after the victory of Ḥunayn were two men from the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal: al-Ḥārith ibn Aws and Mu'ādh ibn Aws ibn 'Ubayd ibn 'Āmir.

Mālik ibn 'Awf came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, embraced Islam, and pledged allegiance to him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ returned his family to him and gave him 100 camels, decreeing that they be sent with him to Rabadhah.

They say that when the Messenger of Allah ﷺ left Ṭā'if, he ordered that Mālik ibn 'Awf's mansion be burnt.

He also killed a man in retaliation for murdering a man. It is said that this was the first murdered person in Islam for whom retaliation was taken.

THE HAJJ THAT ABŪ BAKR ﷺ LED THE PEOPLE IN WHEN THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH ﷺ SENT HIM

When the people commenced Hajj, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ appointed Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq ﷺ to lead them. He sent him either from the route or from Medina after he arrived, and he instructed him to teach the people the Sunnah acts of Hajj and show them the rituals they should perform. He sent, either with him or after him, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ﷺ with verses of Barā'ah (i.e., Sūrah al-Tawbah) and instructed him to recite them to the people and announce in Mecca, Mina, and 'Arafah that all obligations of the treaty of Allah and His Messenger to every polytheist are discharged.

He recited Barā'ah to them and gave them four months, and he recited to them: "O Children of Adam! Dress properly whenever you are at

²³⁶ *al-Tawbah*, 25.

²³⁷ The verses in question (*al-Tawbah*, 26-27) read: "Then Allah sent down His reassurance upon His Messenger and the believers, and sent down forces you could not see, and punished those who disbelieved. Such was the reward of the disbelievers. Then afterwards Allah will turn in grace to whoever He wills. And Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful." [IGP-TD]

worship. Eat and drink, but do not waste. Surely He does not like the wasteful.”²³⁸

Before Barā’ah was revealed, it was the way of the Messenger ﷺ in his expeditions to fight whoever fought him and refrain from whoever refrained or made a treaty with him. Allah said: “So, if they refrain from fighting you and offer you peace, then Allah does not permit you to harm them.”²³⁹

Parts of the Qur’an would abrogate other parts. When a verse was revealed, it would supersede what came before it, and the newly revealed verse would be acted upon in place of the former. Therefore, the previous protocol of the Messenger ﷺ was in obedience to Allah ﷻ, until the discharge from obligations by Allah was revealed, except for those who had a treaty with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. [For those people,] he honoured their treaties until the end of their terms and then presented Islam to them. Thereafter, he accepted the Islam of any polytheistic Arab who embraced the religion and fought anyone who refused. His way with the polytheistic Arabs was to fight them wherever he found them and not to accept anything short of embracing Islam from them. Allah ﷻ said: “...kill the polytheists [who violated their treaties] wherever you find them, capture them, besiege them, and lie in wait for them on every way. But if they repent, perform prayers, and pay alms-tax, then set them free. Indeed, Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.”²⁴⁰ He instructed His Prophet ﷺ in Barā’ah to fight the People of the Book (the Jews and Christians) until they either embraced Islam or paid jizyah, willingly submitting and fully humbled. If they embraced Islam, they were given the same rights and responsibilities as Muslims; and if they offered jizyah, it was accepted from them and their blood was made inviolable in return. Allah ﷻ made marrying their women and [consuming] their slaughtered meat permissible to the Muslims, but He made it impermissible for their men to marry Muslim women.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ accepted the jizyah from the Zoroastrians of Bahrain due to their claim to a divine book, but he declared that their women were impermissible. If they embraced Islam, they were given the same rights and responsibilities as Muslims.

238 *al-A’rāf*, 31.

239 *al-Nisā’*, 90.

240 *al-Tawbah*, 5.

Abū Bakr ﷺ established Hajj for the people.

ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī went to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and embraced Islam. Then, he asked the Messenger of Allah ﷺ for permission to return to his people. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “I fear that they will kill you.”

“Even if they found me sleeping, they would not wake me”, he replied. So, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ gave him permission, and he returned to al-Ṭāʾif. He arrived at the time of ʾIshāʾ and Thaqīf came out to him and greeted him. He invited them to Islam and sincerely advised them, but they accused him and disobeyed him, subjecting him to insults viler than anything he had feared from them. They then departed from him.

After he had passed the night and dawn had broken, ʿUrwah stood upon one of the rooms in his house, said the call to prayer, and declared the testimony of faith. A man from Thaqīf shot him with an arrow and killed him.

They relate that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, when he heard of his killing: “ʿUrwah is like the person of [Sūrah] Yā Sīn; he called his people to Allah ﷻ, but they killed him.”

After his murder, and after witnessing the liberation of Mecca and most of the Arabs embracing of Islam, a delegation of over ten nobles of Thaqīf visited the Messenger of Allah ﷺ in Medina, including Kinānah ibn ʿAbd Yālil, who was their leader at the time, and ʾUthmān ibn Abī al-ʾĀṣ ibn Bishr, who was the most junior of the delegation, hoping for a truce and settlement. Al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah said: “O Messenger of Allah, allow me to host my people and honour them, for I have recently committed a crime against them.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “I will not stop you from honouring your people, but have them stay somewhere they can hear the Qurʾān.”

Al-Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah’s crime against his people was that he was a hired worker for Thaqīf. When they returned from Egypt and were by Buṣāq, he attacked them in their sleep and killed them. He then came bringing their wealth to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “O Messenger of Allah, I wish to give one-fifth of this wealth.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ asked him: “What is its story?”

He replied: “I was a hired worker for Thaqīf. When I heard about you, I killed them.”

He replied: “We do not act treacherously”, refusing to take one-fifth of what he had.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ made Thaḳīf stay in the mosque and pitched tents for them, so that they could hear the Qur'an and see people praying.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ would not mention himself when delivering a sermon. When the delegation of Thaḳīf heard him, they said: "He commands us to testify he is the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, but he does not do so himself in his sermon!" When their statement came to his knowledge, he said: "I am the first to testify that I am the Messenger of Allah."

They would come to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ every morning, leaving 'Uthmān ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ with their camels, for he was the youngest amongst them. Each time the delegation came back to 'Uthmān and took their midday siesta, he would go to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, ask him about the religion, and get him to recite the Qur'an to him. 'Uthmān repeated this on several occasions until he gained a good understanding of the religion. If he ever found the Messenger of Allah ﷺ sleeping, he would go to Abū Bakr. He concealed all this from his companions. This impressed the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and he was in turn enamoured of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and loved him.

The delegation continued to visit the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. He continued to call them to Islam, and they ended up embracing the religion.

Kinānah ibn 'Abd Yālīl said: "Will you give us a settlement so that we can return to our people?"

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: "Yes, if you have chosen Islam, I will give you a settlement. Otherwise, there will be no truce or settlement between us."

They said: "What do you say regarding adultery? We are a people who travel away from our homes, so we need it."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: "It is unlawful for you. Allah Exalted says: 'Do not go near adultery. It is truly a shameful deed and an evil way.'²⁴¹"

They said: "And what about interest? It makes up all of our wealth."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: "You are entitled to your initial capital. Allah Exalted says: 'O believers! Fear Allah, and give up outstanding interest if you are [true] believers.'²⁴²"

They said: "And what do you say regarding alcohol? It is the juice of our

241 *al-Isrā'*, 32.

242 *al-Baqarah*, 278.

land, and we must have it.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied: “Allah has made it unlawful.

He ﷺ said: ‘O believers! Intoxicants, gambling, idols, and drawing lots for decisions are all evil of Shayṭān’s handiwork. So, shun them so you may be successful.’²⁴³”

The people stood, and came together privately and said: “Woe to you. If we oppose him, we fear a day like the Day (i.e., Conquest) of Mecca. Proceed, and we will contract him to what he has asked of us.”

So, they came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and said: “Yes, we hereby grant you what you have asked for.” [Then, they asked:] “Regarding the Rabbah [idol], what shall we do with it?”

“Demolish it”, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ replied.

“Far from it!” they said. “If Rabbah knew that you want to demolish her, she would kill her people.”

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ؓ said: “Woe to you, O Ibn ‘Abd Yālīl, how foolish you are! Rabbah is only a stone!”

“We did not come to you, O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb”, he replied.

They said: “O Messenger of Allah, you take charge of demolishing her. As for us, we will never demolish her.”

“I will send someone to you who will demolish her for you”, he said, and they then contracted him.

Kinānah ibn ‘Abd Yālīl said: “Give us permission before your emissary, and then send him after us, for I know my people very well.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ granted them permission and treated them generously and hospitably. They said: “O Messenger of Allah, appoint a man to lead us.” So, he put ‘Uthmān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ ibn Bishr in charge of them on account of the devotion to Islam he saw from him. ‘Uthmān had learnt some *sūrah*s of the Qur’an before he left.

Kinānah ibn ‘Abd Yālīl said: “I am the most knowledgeable of my people concerning Thaqīf. Conceal the settlement from them, and threaten them with war and fighting. Inform them that Muḥammad has asked us for things that we have refused. He asked us to destroy al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā, nullify wealth of ours that is tied to interest, and to consider intoxicants and adultery unlawful.”

As the delegation drew near, Thaqīf came out to meet them. When they

243 *al-Mā'idah*, 90.

saw that their mounts were moving quickly, they had tied their camels in a single line, and they had covered themselves with their clothes,²⁴⁴ like a people who were angry, distressed, and not returning with any good – when Thaqīf saw the facial expressions of the people, they said to each other: “This delegation did not come with good, neither will it depart with good.”

The delegation entered, headed for al-Lāt, and alighted next to it. Al-Lāt was in a house in the midst of al-Ṭāʾif which was draped, and for which sacrificial animals were brought, just as in the case of the House of Allah. When the delegation alighted there, some people from Thaqīf said: “From the looks of them (i.e., the delegation), they have no settlement.”

Each man amongst them went back to his family and each of them was visited by his close friend, who all asked: “What have you brought and what have you come back with?” They replied: “We went to a very harsh, hard-hearted man who does as he pleases. He has taken control using the sword, subdued the Arabs, and people have submitted to him. He presented some very difficult matters to us: to demolish al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā; to leave all wealth with interest besides our capital; and he forbade alcohol and adultery.” Thaqīf said: “By Allah, we will never accept this.” The delegation said: “Sort out your weapons, get ready and prepared to fight, and repair your fortress.”

Thaqīf remained like this for two or three days, intending – as they claim – to fight. Then, Allah cast awe into their hearts and they said: “By Allah, we have no strength; he has subdued all Arabs. Go back to him and give him what he asks for and make peace with him accordingly.”

When the delegation saw that they have been frightened and have chosen amnesty over fear and war, they said: “We have already made a settlement with him. He gave us what we liked, and we stipulated what we wanted. We found him to be the most pious, loyal, merciful, and truthful person. You and we have been blessed by travelling to him and by the settlement we made with him. So, understand the matter and accept well-being from Allah.”

Thaqīf asked: “Why did you hide this matter from us and put us through so much grief as a result?” They replied: “We wanted Allah to remove the haughtiness of Shayṭān from your hearts.”

244 Translator’s note: This either denotes a refusal to listen, like a person covering their eyes and ears, or it is an allusion to running.

They then embraced Islam immediately and stayed a few days. Thereafter, the emissaries of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ came, with the Messenger of Allah ﷺ having made Khālid ibn al-Walīd the leader amongst them. Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah was also amongst them. When they came, they headed to al-Lāt to demolish it. The whole of Thaqīf gathered around; men, women, and children – even the postpubescent girls emerged from their tents. Most of Thaqīf did not think it could be demolished and believed it was protected.

Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah stood up and, taking hold of an axe, said: “By Allah, I will make you laugh at Thaqīf.” He struck with the axe and then fell down [pretending to] writher. At that, the people of al-Ṭā‘if made a big commotion and let out a loud scream. “May Allah remove al-Mughīrah. Rabbah has killed him!” they said, happy to see him fallen. They said: “Whichever of you wants to can go near and try to demolish it; by Allah, it can never be done.” Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah jumped up and said: “May Allah disfigure you, O assembly of Thaqīf! It is merely an imbecile; stones and mud. So, accept the well-being from Allah and worship Him.” He then struck the door and broke it, after which he scaled its walls with other men also joining him. They continued demolishing it one stone at a time until they levelled it to the ground. The keykeeper said: “Surely the foundations will be enraged and swallow them.” On hearing this, al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah said to Khālid: “Let me dig its foundations.” He then dug it, extracting its soil, seizing its jewellery, and taking its cloth. Thaqīf were left dumbstruck to which an elderly lady amongst them said: “The sordid handed it over and did not even put up a fight.”

The delegation came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ with its jewellery and its covering, and the Messenger of Allah distributed it on the very same day. They praised Allah for helping His Prophet ﷺ and granting honour to His religion.

This is the story of Thaqīf.

THE EXPEDITION OF TABŪK

Next, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ readied an expeditionary force with the Levant in mind. He announced the departure to the people and commanded them to join. This was during the intense heat of autumn, when the people were staying in their date palms to pluck the fruits. Many

delayed from joining him, saying: “We do not have the power to confront the Romans.”

The people of foresight marched out and the Hypocrites lagged behind, telling themselves that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ would never return. They made excuses, postponed, and delayed whoever obeyed them.

There were also Muslim men who stayed behind for genuine reasons, which included sickness and lack of resources. Six individuals in straitened circumstances came to him asking him for mounts and not wishing to lag behind. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “I can find no mounts for you”, and they left with eyes overflowing with tears out of grief that they had nothing to contribute.

They included:

From the Banū Salimah:

- ‘Amr ibn ‘Anamah ibn ‘Adī ibn Nābī.

From the Banū Māzin ibn al-Najjār

- Abū Laylā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka’b ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf ibn Mabdūl.

From the Banū Ḥārithah:

- ‘Ulbah ibn Zayd.

From the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf then the Banū Tha’labah ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf:

- Sālim ibn ‘Umayr.
- Harim ibn ‘Abdillāh. They were known as the Banū al-Bakkā’ (The Criers).
- ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr.
- A man from Muzaynah.

These are the ones who wept and Allah confirmed that they love to perform jihad and earnestly exerted themselves, so He excused them in the Qur’an. Allah ﷻ said: “There is no blame on the weak, the sick, or those lacking the means [if they stay behind], as long as they are true to

Allah and His Messenger. There is no blame on the good-doers.”²⁴⁵ This verse [was revealed] and the two after it²⁴⁶.

Al-Jadd ibn Qays al-Salimī came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ whilst he was in the mosque with a group of people. He said: “O Messenger of Allah, give me permission to stay, for I am a person of uncontrollable sexual desire and weakness, which is an excuse for me.”

He replied: “Get ready, for you are financially comfortable, and perhaps you will make some of the yellow²⁴⁷ girls ride behind you.”

Al-Jadd said: “O Messenger of Allah, exempt me and do not expose me to temptation.”

The following verse was revealed: “There are some of them who say, ‘Exempt me and do not expose me to temptation.’ They have already fallen into temptation”²⁴⁸, along with five verses after it.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out with the Muslims. The person who stayed behind was ‘Anamah ibn Wadī‘ah of the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf. He was asked: “What made you lag behind from the Messenger of Allah ﷺ when you were financially comfortable?”

“Idle talk and joking around”, he replied.

Allah revealed about him and the Hypocrites who stayed behind: “If you question them, they will certainly say, ‘We were only talking idly and joking around.’”²⁴⁹ Three verses [were revealed] one after the other.

Abū Khaythamah, an Anṣārī man from the Banū Sālim ibn ‘Awf, stayed behind. He entered his orchard, with the fruit of the date trees hanging down, the trellis sprinkled with water, and his wife with henna-dyed hands and fully adorned. Abū Khaythamah looked towards his wife and said: “I am ruined, by the Lord of the Ka’bah, if Allah does not rescue me with repentance. I have spent the morning in the shade of date

²⁴⁵ *al-Tawbah*, 91.

²⁴⁶ *al-Tawbah*, 92-93: (Nor on those who when they came to you for you to transport them, you said, “I do not have anything with which to transport you” and they turned away, their eyes overflowing with tears out of sadness that they do not have anything to spend. The blame is only on those who seek your permission while they are wealthy and are pleased to be among those who stayed behind, whose hearts Allah sealed so they do not know.)

²⁴⁷ Editor’s note: The Arabs in the 7th century AD would describe someone as “yellow” whom a 21st century audience would describe as “white”. They referred to the Romans as “Banū al-Aṣfar (The Yellow People)”. Likewise, what the Arabs would refer to as “white” a 21st century audience would refer to as “tanned”. The tone of the Prophet ﷺ, like that of most of his tribe, was a wheatish-brown complexion.

²⁴⁸ *al-Tawbah*, 49.

²⁴⁹ *al-Tawbah*, 65.

palms whilst the Messenger of Allah ﷺ is facing intense heat and scorching winds with his sword around his neck, despite Allah having forgiven all past and future shortcomings.”

He then set out seeking the pleasure of Allah and the Home of the Hereafter. He put a halter through his water camel's nostril, and took provisions of some dates in a pouch and a water container. As he was setting off, his wife called to him: “O Abū Khaythamah, come let me talk to you.” He said: “By the One in Whose Hand is my soul, I am not going to pay any attention to my family or wealth until I go to the Messenger ﷺ and he seeks forgiveness for me.”

‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Umar ibn Ḥafṣ said that one of the things said to him was: “The date saplings are going to perish”, regarding some date palm cuttings he had planted. He replied: “Going out to fight is better than date palm saplings.” He then sat on his water camel and began moving. ‘Umayr ibn Wahb al-Jumāhī, who was coming from Mecca to join the expedition, met up with him, so they accompanied one another. On seeing Tabūk, Abū Khaythamah said: “I have committed a sin: I lagged behind the Messenger of Allah ﷺ when he set out, so stay behind me – may my father and mother be your ransom.”

‘Umayr thus kept behind and Abū Khaythamah continued. When Abū Khaythamah became visible to Tabūk, the Muslims climbed up to see him and said: “O Messenger of Allah, this is a rider coming from Medina.” The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: “Let it be Abū Khaythamah.”

Abū Khaythamah came to him crying, and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to him: “What kept you behind, O Abū Khaythamah? Woe to you!”

Abū Khaythamah replied: “I was about to be ruined by lagging behind you, O Prophet of Allah. The world was embellished for me, and my wealth seemed attractive to my eyes, and so I was about to choose it over jihad. However, Allah decided for me to set out, so seek forgiveness for me, O Messenger of Allah.” He then sought forgiveness for him and prayed for him to be blessed.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ set out when he did, intending the Levant and the disbelievers amongst the Arabs. In that regard, the furthest he travelled was where he alighted at Tabūk.

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ alighted at Tabūk, he sent Khālid ibn al-Walid to Dūmah where Ukaydir was. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said to Khālid: “I am hopeful you will find him outside of the fortress hunting cows.”

It is mentioned that Ukaydir gave the Messenger of Allah ﷺ a gift which is said to have included an apparel.

The inhabitants of these towns which Dūmah, Aylah, and Taymā' accommodated feared the Messenger of Allah ﷺ when they saw that the Arabs had accepted Islam.

Khālid ibn al-Walīd set out to find Ukaydir hunting cows just as the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had said. They captured him and killed his brother, and Khālid brought Ukaydir to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

Yuḥannah ibn Rūbā, the chief of Aylah, came to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, fearing that he may send someone to him as he did to Ukaydir, and so Ukaydir and Yuḥannah assembled by the Messenger of Allah. He invited them to Islam but they refused and agreed to give him jizyah. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ made a settlement with them on the same terms as he did at Dūmah, Tabūk, Aylah, and Taymā'. He also had the agreement written for them.

Then, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ headed back. When he approached Medina, most of those who held back from going with him came out to receive him. "Do not speak to, or sit with, any man amongst them until I allow you", said the Messenger of Allah ﷺ to his Companions. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ and his Companions ignored them, to the extent that a man would ignore his own father and brother, and a woman would ignore her husband. They remained like that for a number of days until those who stayed behind became very distressed and began complaining of fatigue and illness to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, swearing to him. He was merciful to them, accepted their pledge, and sought forgiveness on their behalf.

Ibn Shihāb said: "The Messenger of Allah ﷺ reached Tabūk in this expedition of his but did not go any further, and he stayed for over eleven nights." He also mentioned that the Hypocrites who held back from joining him were over eighty men and that Adhruḥ was part of what he agreed to on that day.

Amongst those who stayed behind were three individuals whom Allah Most Exalted and Mighty mentioned in His Book as having repented: Ka'b ibn Mālīk al-Salīmī, Hilāl ibn Umayyah al-Wāqifī, and Murārah ibn Rib'ī al-'Amrī.

The Banū Salimah said to Ka'b ibn Mālīk: "Go to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, excuse yourself before him, and make a pledge to him; perhaps he will accept from you."

So, he went with them when the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was sitting in the mosque and taking people's pledges. Ka'b greeted him with *salām* but he turned away from him. They say that Ka'b asked him: "Why are you turning away from me, O Messenger of Allah? By Allah, by Allah! I have neither become a Hypocrite, nor have I doubted or changed."

"So what kept you behind?" said the Messenger of Allah.

He said: "I am not going to make any excuse before Allah and His Messenger ﷺ. I was an affluent youth, but was afflicted by temptation."

Murārah ibn Rib'ī and Hilāl ibn Umayyah heard of what Ka'b said, so they said: "We were afflicted by temptation", just as he said.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ turned away from them and so they went away from him. The Banū Salimah said to Ka'b: "By Allah, you did not do the right thing or do any good. Had you made an excuse, he would have accepted it from you."

Ka'b replied to them: "By Allah, I am not going to combine two things: staying behind the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and lying to him. Allah has already informed him of what is in my heart."

The Banū Salimah said: "By Allah, you are an articulate, eloquent poet who is outspoken."

"I will never have the audacity to lie", replied Ka'b.

This group, namely Ka'b, Murārah, and Hilāl, tarried for close to two months. None of the Muslims were talking to them nor were any of their tribesmen sitting with them – even their wives turned away from them. They were extremely frightened and scared. They left their families towards the wilderness and pitched tents to which they would retire at night, worshipping Allah Most Exalted and Mighty in the Sun by day until they became like monks.

Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, one of the kings of Ghassān in the Levant, wrote to Ka'b ibn Mālīk, saying: "It has come to our knowledge that your master has shunned you and excluded you. So, come to us, for you have a place to turn to, and you need not remain in humiliation."

Ka'b came crying to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ with his letter and said: "By Allah, O Messenger of Allah, you have continued to turn away from me to the extent that the polytheists have taken an interest in me and are keen for me to join them. O Messenger of Allah, this here is the letter of Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, who has invited me to embrace polytheism." The Prophet ﷺ, however, did not respond to him, and Ka'b returned as grieved and distressed as he could possibly be. He spent a number of days in the

tent in al-Jammā', awaiting to be granted repentance. Al-Jammā', despite its vastness, seemed to close in on him. He thus returned to [Mount] Sila', where he would spend the day fasting and retire to his house at night, until his repentance and that of his two fellows was revealed. May Allah Almighty and Exalted be pleased with them.

At night, Allah Exalted and Almighty sent Revelation to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ when he was in the house of Umm Salamah. He slept a portion of the night, performed *wuḍū'*, cleaned his teeth with a *siwāk*, and then said to Umm Salamah: "All praise is for Allah Who revealed repentance for these brothers of ours."

Umm Salamah asked: "Who are they, O Messenger of Allah?", to which he replied: "Ka'b ibn Mālik and his two companions. Allah accepted of them and looked at their fear, so He turned towards them in mercy."

Umm Salamah asked: "Should I not send a message to them to make them happy? Because they are distressed and extremely scared of Allah's wrath."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "Let morning come."

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ performed the morning prayer and then turned around, the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār all gathering towards him. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "Allah has accepted the repentance of your brothers last night." The Muslims were extremely happy, and two men raced one another to Ka'b to give him the good news. One of them outpaced the other, but the one who was surpassed climbed a mountain and shouted: "O Ka'b ibn Mālik, rejoice at Allah's [accepting your] repentance. Qur'an has been revealed regarding you."

They say the two who came running were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Ka'b was sitting in the mosque of his people when he heard the voice and fell into prostration, crying out of happiness at his repentance. The Banū Salimah, both men and women, gathered by him to congratulate him. Ka'b proceeded very quickly to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ who accepted his pledge, sought forgiveness for him, and gave him the good news of the repentance that had been revealed for him and his two companions. He recited to him: "Allah has certainly turned in mercy to the Prophet as well as the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār who stood by him in the time of hardship, after the hearts of a group of them had almost faltered. He then accepted their repentance. Surely He is Ever Gracious and Most Merciful to them. And [Allah has also turned in mercy to] the three who had remained behind, [whose guilt distressed them] until the Earth, despite its vastness,

seemed to close in on them, and their souls were torn in anguish. They knew there was no refuge from Allah except in Him. Then He turned to them in mercy so that they might repent. Surely Allah [alone] is the Acceptor of Repentance, Most Merciful.”²⁵⁰

Thereafter, He mentioned those who stayed behind the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, making false excuses and gave all sorts of reasons: “O believers! Be mindful of Allah and be with the truthful. It was not [proper] for the people of Medina and the nomadic Arabs around them to avoid marching with the Messenger of Allah or to prefer their own lives above his. That is because whenever they suffer from thirst, fatigue, or hunger in the cause of Allah; or tread on a territory, unnerving the disbelievers; or inflict any loss on an enemy – it is written to their credit as a good deed. Surely Allah never discounts the reward of the good-doers. And whenever they make a donation, small or large, or cross a valley [in Allah’s cause] – it is written to their credit, so that Allah may grant them the best reward for what they used to do.”²⁵¹

Before this verse, He mentioned those who stayed behind the Messenger of Allah ﷺ out of hypocrisy. He Most Glorified said: “Those [Hypocrites] who remained behind rejoiced for doing so in defiance of the Messenger of Allah and hated [the prospect of] striving with their wealth and their lives in the cause of Allah. They said [to one another]: ‘Do not march forth in the heat.’ Say, [O Prophet,] ‘The Fire of Hell is far hotter!’ If only they could comprehend! So let them laugh a little – they will weep much as a reward for what they have committed.”²⁵² Several more verses followed one another.

Then, He mentioned those people who stayed behind due to a valid reason. He Most High said: “There is no blame on the weak, the sick, or those lacking the means [if they stay behind], as long as they are true to Allah and His Messenger. There is no blame on the good-doers. And Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.”²⁵³ One more verse followed.

He mentioned those who had no valid reason amongst the people staying behind. He Most High said: “Blame is only on those who seek exemption from you although they have the means. They preferred to stay

250 *al-Tawbah*, 117-118.

251 *al-Tawbah*, 119-121.

252 *al-Tawbah*, 81-82.

253 *al-Tawbah*, 91.

behind with the helpless, and Allah has sealed their hearts so they do not realize [the consequences].”²⁵⁴ Four more verses followed one another.

On hearing that which Allah revealed regarding those staying behind, al-Julās ibn Suwayd said: “By Allah, if Muḥammad is truthful, then we are worse than donkeys.”

His paternal uncle’s son ‘Āmir ibn Qays said to him: “By Allah, Muḥammad is truthful, and you are definitely worse than donkeys. Woe to you! You stayed behind the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and were a Hypocrite. By Allah, I do not think it is appropriate for me to remain silent at this talk.”

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ had given Suwayd ibn Ṣāmit compensation and also some charity. So, ‘Āmir ibn Qays went to the Messenger ﷺ and told him what al-Julās said. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ called for him but he swore by Allah that he never said it, claiming: “‘Āmir ibn Qays has lied about me.”

‘Āmir said: “O Allah, send down a satisfactory explanation to Your Messenger.”

Allah ﷻ then sent down: “They swear by Allah that they never said anything [blasphemous], while they did in fact utter a blasphemy, lost faith after accepting Islam, and plotted what they could not carry out. It is only through resentment that they pay Allah and His Messenger ﷺ back for enriching them out of His bounty! If they repent, it will be better for them. But if they turn away, Allah will torment them with a painful punishment in this world and the Hereafter, and they will have no one on earth to protect or help them.”²⁵⁵ He was then told to repent from what he had said, and so he repented and confessed his sin.

This was regarding Tabūk, which was the last expedition of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ.

The Messenger of Allah ﷺ sent Khālīd ibn al-Walīd from Tabūk to Ukaydir in Dūmah. He found him hunting cows, so they captured him and killed his brother. The people of Aylah and Taymā’ made a truce with him, and Ibn Rūbā, the leader of Aylah, also met him, gave him a gift, and made a truce with him.

254 *al-Tawbah*, 93.

255 *al-Tawbah*, 74.

THE FAREWELL HAJJ [ḤAJJAH AL-WADĀ']

Ibn Shihāb said: "The Messenger of Allah ﷺ performed the Complete Hajj (Ḥajjah al-Tamām) at the end of the 10th year and showed the people their rituals. He delivered a sermon to the people in 'Arafah upon his camel, al-Jad'ā."

Some of the sermon he delivered to the people in Mina is mentioned to be [as will follow]. It is said that he delivered the sermon to them by one of the *jamrahs* – the one closest to the mosque of Mina or the one after it, and he did not participate in Hajj thereafter until Allah took his soul.

He said:

"O people! Listen to what I have to say to you, for I do not know; perhaps I will never meet you again after this year in this place.

"O people! Your blood and wealth are inviolable for you until you meet your Lord; like the sacredness of this day of yours; like the sacredness of this month of yours; and like the sacredness of this city of yours.

"You are going to meet your Lord Who shall then question you regarding your actions – and I have conveyed. Whoever holds something for safekeeping should return it to whoever entrusted it to them.

"All usury has been cancelled, but the capital of your wealth is yours, without wronging or being wronged. Allah has decreed there is no usury. As for the usury of 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, it has been cancelled.

"And the first blood I am cancelling is the blood of the son of Rabī'ah ibn al-Hārith." He was being fostered by the Banū Layth and was killed by Hudhayl. "That is the first blood of the Jāhiliyyah with which I begin.

"To proceed: O people! Shayṭān has lost all hope of ever being worshipped again in these lands, but not of being obeyed in everything besides that. He is pleased with those actions you

consider trivial, so fear for your religion.

“O people! Reallocating the sanctity of [the sacred months] is an increase in disbelief, by which the disbelievers are led astray. They adjust the sanctity one year and uphold it in another, only to maintain the number of months sanctified by Allah. Time has come back around to the way it was on the day He created the Heavens and the Earth. Indeed, the number of months ordained by Allah is twelve – in Allah’s Record since the day He created the Heavens and the Earth – of which four are sacred: three consecutive months, and Rajab of Muḍar between Jumādā and Sha‘bān.

“To proceed...”